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BY

E. D. CLARKE, LL.D.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES.
MDCCCXXXVIII.

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LIST

OF

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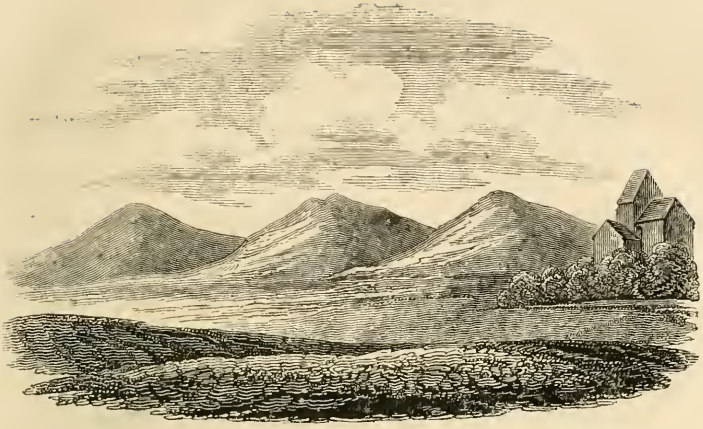

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FROM SALA TO UPSALA.

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Professors—total want of discipline—neglected state of science—want of emulation—Habits of intoxication—Character of the Swedes—Uniform aspect of the country and its inhabitants.

CHAP. I.

Journey from *Sala* to *Upsala.*

In our journey from *Sala* to *Upsala,* upon the thirteenth of *November,* we passed through a cultivated country so much resembling *Cambridgeshire,* in its level corn-land and the appearance of its villages, that we were often reminded of the approach to our own University, as we drew nigh to the most celebrated of the *Swedish* Seminaries. We met, as before, in our first stage to *Tärnaby,* numerous bands of *Dalecarlians,* returning, from their summer excursions for employment, towards their own country. From *Tärnaby* we next came to *Gastre,* distant twenty-one English miles from *Sala;* and here passed the boundary between the provinces of Wästmanland and Upland. Afterwards we journeyed through *Långtora* and *Safva;* the country being open, bleak, and level, with the very best roads. The land on all sides appeared to be in a high state of cultivation, having lost in picturesque beauty what it has gained by man's industry; for of those forests which almost universally cover the *Swedish* territories, not a vestige, nor even a solitary tree, was to be seen. After another stage of twelve *English* miles and

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a quarter, at the distance of fifty-two miles and a half from *Sala*, we arrived, just as it was growing dark, at UPSALA. We had, however, a fine view of the Royal *Château*, upon an eminence, as we entered the town: the Cathedral, also, presents a superb figure, and is visible, upon this road, a considerable distance from *Upsala*[1]. In a former Volume, the appearance of *Upsala*, in the approach to it from *Stockholm*, has been described[2]. When we first arrived in this celebrated seat of northern literature, having our heads filled with extravagant notions of the splendour of a University which had produced so many illustrious men, we reserved for our second visit a diligent inquiry into its history

Appearance of *Upsala*.

(1) The resemblance between *Upland* and *Cambridgeshire* was noticed in the preceding Chapter: but another traveller, also of the University of *Cambridge*, affords, in his *Manuscript Journal*, a curious coincidence with the foregoing observations, by saying that there is a resemblance also in the external appearance of the two Universities.

"The first appearance of *Upsal* may be compared to that of the situation and view of *Cambridge* from the *Huntingdon* Road. The Palace of *Upsal* stands upon high ground, as does the County Gaol at *Cambridge*. The town being below, you look over the latter, and see an extent of flat country around. By the original plan of the Palace, it was intended to occupy three sides of a square parallelogram; but one side was never finished. At one corner there is a tower: the other side is not completed in the same way. The Governor of the Province resides here, and a few other persons. It is intended for the residence of the Sovereign, when he visits *Upsal*. This establishment is quite independent of the University."—*Dr. Fiott Lee's MS. Journal.*

(2) Vol. IX. p. 212. Octavo Edition.

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Present condition of the University.

and present state[1]. The high expectations we had formed, with regard to its flourishing condition, were not however realized. Every thing seemed to dwindle into insignificance, when the reality was opposed to our ideal picture. The morning after our arrival (*November* 14) we waited upon Dr. *Afzelius*, in his apartments in the Palace. He had been during ten years engaged in foreign travel; and was at this time unpacking his collection, which consisted of natural curiosities, from *Africa*, and other distant regions which he had visited. We presented to him some specimens of rare plants entrusted to our care and conveyance by Dr. *Muller* of *Christiana*. As Dr. *Afzelius* had been in *England*, and was in *Cambridge* but a short time before we set out upon this expedition, he seemed to be well aware of the striking contrast which a comparison of the two Universities must necessarily afford; and said to us, "You must not expect to find every thing here upon the same footing as in *England:* we have neither the same funds, nor the means of exciting an equal degree of emulation among our students."

Afzelius.

Having expressed an earnest wish to be pre-

(1) This has been in some measure anticipated, by the very ample account published by Dr. *Thomson*, in his *Travels in Sweden*. *Lond.* 1813.

sent at some of the public lectures, he told us that Professor *Thunberg*, the successor of *Linnæus* in the Botanical chair, was at this moment delivering a lecture. We hastened to the spot; and found this venerable man, so well known for the account he has published of his Travels in *Japan*, in the old Botanic Garden, opposite the identical house, or cottage, where *Linnæus* once resided; and in which Professor *Thunberg* now lived. The lecture was given in the Old Green-house, as it used to be by *Linnæus*, in the *Swedish* language; and with such animation of manner, that we much regretted our incapacity to keep pace with the Professor in his harangue. Some of it we understood: it was upon the interesting subject of the "superba *Palmarum* familia" of *Linnæus*; and immediately brought to our recollection the observations with which he terminates the *Prolegomena* of his valuable *Flora Lapponica*[2]. But what was our surprise, to find the Professor with only half-a-dozen slovenly boys standing around him, as

Thunberg.

Botanic Garden.

(2) "*Calidissimos* orbis partes regit superba PALMARUM familia; terras *calidas* incolunt FRUTESCENTES plantarum gentes; *australes Europæ* plagas numerosa ornat HERBARUM corona; *Belgium, Daniam*que, GRAMINUM occupant copiæ; *Sueciam*, MUSCORUM agmina; ultimam vero frigidissimamque *Lapponiam* pallidæ ALGÆ, præsertim albi Lichenes. En ultimum vegetationis gradum in terra ultima!"—*Flor. Lapp. in fin. Proleg. p.* 26. *Amst.* 1737.

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his audience,—the eldest of whom could not be more than fourteen years of age,—whose whole interest in the lecture seemed to consist in watching for the moment when a palm-branch was cast among them by the Professor, for which they scrambled; being eager to cut these branches with their knives, for the purpose of making them serve as walking-staves. After the lecture was over, the boys scampered off with their palm-sticks, and the Professor kindly admitted us to see his cabinet of rarities.

The account of his voyage to *Japan* was published in 1791, and translated into *German*. An *English* edition of the same work has since appeared in our own country.

His cabinet consisted of a large collection of objects of natural history, shells, birds, quadrupeds, insects, plants, and minerals. The last were not numerous; and they were, in some instances, described under false names: for having presented to us a small quantity of what he considered as the granular *tin* of *Japan*, we found it, upon examination, to be an *oxide of Titanium*. Among the insects we noticed a magnificent butterfly, the *Atlas of Ceylon*, measuring nine inches across its extended wings: also a most beautiful little stag, from the island of *Java*, not more than twelve inches in height. His col-

lection of plants contained twenty thousand specimens. We saw also specimens of the *caméo* work of the *Chinese*, which seem to prove that this curious branch of sculpture has been long known in that country; whence, perhaps, the art of cutting *caméos* was originally derived by the antient and modern nations of the Western world. The *Chinese caméos* are executed in *alabaster* and in *trap*, and sometimes exhibit layers of three distinct colours. One in the possession of Professor *Thunberg*, representing fruit and flowers, executed in *trap*, was of three colours—red, green, and white; and it measured twenty inches by sixteen. At this time, Professor *Thunberg* was preparing for the press a new edition of his *Flora Japonica*.

Some of the students who had remained in the Green-house afterwards accompanied us in our examination of the Botanic Garden. We found a head-gardener employed, with two assistants acting under his direction. The principal gardener obligingly presented to us a specimen of *Lopezia racemosa*, a very rare plant from *Peru*, with a delicate and beautiful red flower, belonging to the class *Monandria Monogynia*, of which so few are known. It is not noticed by *Martyn*, in his edition of *Miller's* Dictionary,

Botanic Garden.

CHAP. I.

although mentioned in the Catalogue of Greenhouse and Stove Plants prefixed to that work. We have since seen it in the Garden at *Cambridge*. Among the forced plants, we were not a little surprised to find the common *English* yew-tree (*Taxus baccata*), growing in pots. It is native in one place only in all *Sweden*, where it appears dwindled to a small shrub. The greenhouses were small, but neat, and kept in good order. It was said that the old garden would soon be destroyed: yet, as a spot sacred to the memory of *Linnæus*, this ought, surely, to be preserved. In the adjoining buildings there was a small *menagerie*, where a few live animals were preserved; as an ape, a parroquet, &c.; but there was nothing worth more particular notice.

Chemical Schools.

Afterwards we saw the Chemical Schools in the house of Professor *John Afzelius*, brother of *Adam Afzelius* the botanist, whom we had before visited. He was delivering a lecture, at the time of our arrival, to about twenty or thirty students; but in a voice so low and inaudible, as to be scarcely intelligible, even to those who were his constant hearers. We observed a few among them making notes; but the chief part of the audience seemed to be very inattentive, and to be sitting rather as a matter of form than for any

purpose of instruction. Their slovenly dress, and manner, were moreover so unlike that of the students in our *English* Universities, that it was impossible to consider them as gentlemen: they had rather the air and appearance of so many labouring artificers, and might have been mistaken for a company of workmen in a manufactory. Around this chemical lecture-room was arranged the Professor's collection of minerals,— perhaps more worthy of notice than any thing else in *Upsala;* for the Chemical Laboratory scarcely merits attention. It was classed according to the methodical distribution of *Cronstedt,* and has been in the possession of the University ever since the middle of the eighteenth century. The celebrated *Bergmann* added considerably to this collection, which may be considered as one of the most complete in Europe; especially in specimens from the *Swedish* mines, which have long produced the most remarkable minerals in the world. One cabinet alone contained three thousand specimens; and the whole series occupied no less a number than forty. It is true, that, in this immense collection, there were many things denoting an earlier period in the history of mineralogy, and which now belong rather to the study of *geology* than of *mineralogy.* One small cabinet contained

Mineralogical Collection.

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models of mining apparatus; pumps, furnaces, &c. There is no country that has afforded better proofs of the importance of mineralogical studies to the welfare of a nation, than *Sweden;* but the *Swedes* have not maintained the pre-eminence in *mineralogy* which they so honourably acquired[1]. The *mineralogy* of *Cronstedt* laid the true foundation of the science, by making the chemical composition of minerals the foundation of the species into which they are divided[2]: and whenever an undue regard for the mere external characters of these bodies causes an attention to their chemical constituents to be disregarded, it may be regretted, as an effectual bar to the progress of mineralogical knowledge.

We next visited the University Library.—In ascending to it, we saw the *Auditory,* as it is called, where the Academical disputations are held, and public lectures read; having very much the appearance of one of our English Town-Halls. This place is immediately under the Public Library. The President sits at the farther end of the apartment, immediately behind the Respondent. Upon a bench below the Respondent are placed the two Opponents, and

(1) *Thomson*'s Trav. in *Sweden*, p. 173. *Lond.* 1813.
(2) Ibid.

behind them are several rows of seats for the spectators. Voluntary opponents frequently rise among the spectators, who discuss arguments with the Respondents. The degrees, or, as they are here called, *promotions*, are conferred once in three years. Neither the Professors nor the Students have any distinction of dress; except upon these occasions, when the Professors wear a cloak, and coloured stockings: yet, surely, if ever in any country the dignity of its Academical institutions require a peculiarity of habit, to distinguish its members from the lower orders of the inhabitants, it is more particularly necessary in *Upsala*. In *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, if the students appear in the streets without their Academical dress, it is generally those only of the petit-maîtres among the undergraduates who are tempted to commit this breach of University discipline, by a desire to imitate the habits of the young men of fashion in the metropolis; but their appearance is never such as to cause them to be confounded with the poorer class of artificers: whereas in *Upsala*, a student in the streets is not a whit better clad than any working coachmaker or carpenter in *England*.

University Library.

We ascended to the University Library. It contains fifty thousand volumes; which are kept

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in very excellent order, and in a handsome room[1]. The Librarian, *Peter Fabius Aurivillius*, Professor of Humanity, to whom we delivered our letters of introduction, told us that he had published a complete catalogue of the whole collection, arranged alphabetically, according to the names of the different authors. The alphabetical form is perhaps the most convenient which any catalogue can have, for the use of persons frequenting a public library; provided only that it be made sufficiently comprehensive, and be extended not only to the names of the authors, but also to the subjects and titles of their several works. In viewing this collection, we endeavoured to ascertain to what particular branch of knowledge it was most indebted. The Professor, to whom we applied for information, told us that it was impossible to determine this point; affirming that the library was well pro-

(1) Dr *Fiott Lee*, in his *MS. Journal*, states the number of volumes at 65,000. The persons who accompany strangers in their visits to public libraries are not likely to be very accurate in the accounts which they give in round numbers. The number of the volumes in the University Library of *Cambridge* has never been ascertained; but Dr. *Farmer*, Master of *Emmanuel* College, when Librarian, counted the number of authors, and they amounted to 100,000. This number has since been greatly augmented; and there are, besides, sixteen other Libraries in *Cambridge* belonging to the different Colleges. This comparative statement will serve to mark the striking difference between the two establishments.

vided in all branches of learning. We found here Mr. *Turner* employed as the amanuensis[2], who formerly had the care of Sir *Joseph Banks*'s Herbarium. The library is divided into three distinct parts: the first contains volumes of polite literature, history, and natural history; the second, a collection of various authors presented by *Gustavus the Third*, when he was Prince Royal: the third consists entirely of volumes of law, physic, and divinity. This library owes its origin to *Gustavus Adolphus*, or, as he is always called familiarly by the Swedes, *Gustaf-Adolph*. Like *Buonaparte*, it was customary with that monarch to reserve, for his share of the plunder, all the books which were found in places captured by his troops: and he afterwards presented them to this University. Several of his successors have, by similar donations, imitated his munificent example.

Typographical Rarities.

Here is preserved the first book printed in *Sweden*; namely, *Dialogus Creaturarum moralisatus*. It bears the date '*Stockholm*, MCCCCLXXXIII.' We saw also the only copy known of the *Manuale Ecclesiæ Linkopensis*, printed at *Sœuderkœuping*, in 1525. The first work printed at

(2) The same gentleman is mentioned by Dr. *Thomson*, in his account of *Upsala*, as being the Librarian at the time of his visit; the name being *Törner*, after the *Swedish* manner.—*See Trav. in Sweden, p.* 174. *Lond.* 1813.

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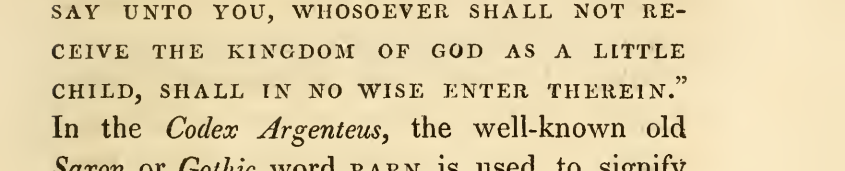
Upsala was a *Latin* Commentary upon the Psalms, of which there is a copy, dated 1515. The other rare typographical curiosities are, a work of *Thomas Aquinas,* printed in folio, at *Mayence,* in 1467 ; two editions of the *Catholicon* of the fifteenth century, without date; and a *Latin* Bible, in folio, printed at *Nuremberg* in 1475. Also, the folio Roman editions of *Pliny* and *Suetonius;* the first, of 1473; the second, of 1470.

Manuscripts.

Among the Manuscripts, which are very numerous, and kept in a room below the Library, there are several of great value; such as, the *Diarium Wadstenense,* upon vellum, in small quarto, written by various hands, from the year 1344 to 1544;—an *Icelandic* copy of the *Edda* and *Scalda,* upon vellum;—and the *Icelandic Laws,* written upon vellum; a manuscript of great antiquity. But all these are eclipsed, in splendour and value, by the well-known and beautiful CODEX ARGENTEUS of the Four Gospels; considered, and with reason, by all comers, as the most worthy notice of any thing in the whole collection. We had the satisfaction of carefully inspecting this precious manuscript, if manuscript it may be called. The characters seem rather painted than written; every letter being executed in *silver,* with the

Codex Argenteus.

exception of some of the initial letters, which are of gold: so that every page of the manuscript exhibits one continued illumination. A brief extract from this manuscript will serve to gratify mere curiosity, by affording a fac-simile of the characters. It corresponds with our version of the eighteenth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, at the seventeenth verse: "VERILY I SAY UNTO YOU, WHOSOEVER SHALL NOT RECEIVE THE KINGDOM OF GOD AS A LITTLE CHILD, SHALL IN NO WISE ENTER THEREIN." In the *Codex Argenteus*, the well-known old *Saxon* or *Gothic* word BARN is used to signify the original *παιδίον*. The passage occurs thus:



The history of this manuscript has been given by so many authors, and set forth with so much perspicuity by Mr. *Coxe*[1], that we shall no

(1) See Travels into *Poland, Russia, Sweden,* and *Denmark*, vol. IV. p. 151, &c. Mr. *Coxe* refers to the following works (ibid. p. 157, Note) for the history of this manuscript. "The several editions of the *Codex Argenteus,*

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further enter upon it, than by briefly stating, according to the information we received from the Librarian, that it was completed about the end of the fourth century, by a Bishop of *Thrace*, in the *Gothic* language used at that time in *Mœsia*. In the year 1648, when the city of *Prague* was stormed by the *Swedes*, it was found among the literary spoils, by a *Swedish* Count, who sent it as a present to his Queen, *Christina*. Three editions are extant of this valuable Code, of which the best is from the *Clarendon* Press of *Oxford*, by *Edward Lye*, printed in 1750. It contains a *Latin* Version, and a Commentary upon the Text, by the learned *Benzelius;* together with *Lye*'s own observations, and a *Gothic* Grammar.

The leaves of the *Codex Argenteus* are of vellum, but prepared in a very particular manner, and of a violet hue: the cover and back of the volume are of silver, embossed. It is related, that the celebrated *Isaac Vossius* stole this manuscript, during the confusion which preceded Queen *Christina*'s abdication of the

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Argenteus, by *Junius*, *Stiernhelm*, and *Lye*. *Hickes* Gramm. *Mœso-Gothica*, in his Thesaurus Ling. Sept. *La Croze* Diss. Philol. at the end of *Chamberlayne*'s Orat. Dom. p. 136. *Wetstein*'s Proleg. in Nov. Test. sect. 68 to 71. *Bib. Up. Hist.* p. 116 to 123. *Le Long*. Bib. Sac. vol. II. p. 140, and 538."

throne of *Sweden;* and that after his death it was purchased for 250*l.* by Count *Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie*, who presented it to the University of *Upsala*.

There are in this collection but few manuscripts of the Classics; and even these were evidently written after the invention of printing: they are, however, estimable, owing to the uncommon beauty of the calligraphy, which, in some instances, can with difficulty be distinguished from printing. We saw a good manuscript copy of *Horace;* and one of *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, less perfect and less legible. All the volumes are inclosed in cases faced with wire. Instead of written certificates, as vouchers for the books borrowed by the members of the University, they make use of printed tickets.

Cabinet of Queen *Christina.*

The principal curiosity in this library has been mentioned by other authors, and sometimes inaccurately described. It is a cabinet of the most curious and costly workmanship, adorned with paintings, mosaïc, and gems, which was presented by the merchants of *Hamburgh* to Queen *Christina*. One of the doors is composed entirely of a single stone, said to be an *agate;* but, in fact, a slab of that species of stalactite *carbonate of lime* which is vulgarly called "flowered alabaster." The natural veins,

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or zones, of this mineral, beautifully polished, have been ingeniously appropriated by a painter, so as to constitute parts of the picture which he has represented upon the stone. Upon one side is seen the destruction of Pharaoh and his Host in the Red Sea; and few persons would imagine that in a work of this kind, which must necessarily have so much of *trick* in it, the artist could have displayed the sublimity he has really afforded. The figure of Moses, and the expression delineated in his countenance, are worthy of as great a master as *Raphael*. An Equestrian Soldier is also figured with great spirit and energy. In this curious piece, the perspective, as it might be expected, is altogether violated. Upon the other side of the slab is a representation of the Day of Judgment; but this has been evidently borrowed from the famous picture by *Michael Angelo*, in the *Sestina* Chapel at *Rome*. It contains some of the same figures; and has, moreover, the same characteristic portraits; such, for example, as those of the Cardinal, and the Mistress of the painter. The artist, whose name we did not learn, has represented his own portrait among those of the Blessed in heaven, and has decorated his head with the Pope's tiara. Other parts of this cabinet are adorned with antique gems, paint-

ings on precious stones, *Florence* mosaïc-work, executed by inlaid pieces of antique marbles, and very curious painting by means of inlaid pieces of wood in mosaïc, perhaps the workmanship of *Albert Durer*, and certainly of his time. But the most singular deposit in this room is a donation of *Gustavus the Third:* it consists of two chests of manuscripts, double-locked, chained, and sealed, which are not to be opened until fifty years shall have elapsed from the time of his death. These chests are supposed to contain his foreign correspondence, and many papers relating to the principal transactions in which he was engaged and the state of *Europe* at the time of his reign. An *English* traveller will hardly participate the feelings of curiosity which are betrayed by the *Swedes* respecting these mysterious boxes. "What a misfortune for us," said one of the inhabitants of *Upsala,* "that this precious deposit will not be opened in our time." Great expectation is on foot with regard to the things that will come to light when these papers are examined; but, for our own part, we could not help thinking that the moral of the old fable "*Parturiunt montes*" &c. will be found very applicable to the event of the opening of these chests, when the times arrives for their inspection.

Mysterious gift of *Gustavus the Third.*

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The number of the students in this University has sometimes exceeded one thousand: at the present time there were not above three hundred[1]. The whole population, including the students and other inhabitants of *Upsala* and its neighbourhood, did not amount to four thousand persons. The University consists of a Chancellor, a Sub-Chancellor, who is always the Archbishop of *Upsala*, and a President, who is called *Rector Magnificus*, answering to the office of Vice-Chancellor in our English Universities. There are also Professors of *Divinity*, *Law*, *Physic*, and *Philosophy*, besides extraordinary adjuncts, as assistants, to each of these Professorships, *Magistri Docentes* in the several faculties, and Teachers of Modern Languages and the Polite Arts. The principal studies of the place are divided into the four classes above mentioned. The lectures are both public and private, the former being delivered gratis. The annual salaries of the Professors do not exceed 100*l*. When a Professor has continued in office for thirty years, he is allowed to retire with the title of *Emeritus*, and enjoys his salary for life[2].

Executive branch of the University.

(1) When Dr. *Fiott Lee* afterwards visited this University, the number was greatly increased. According to a note in his *MS. Journal*, there were about 800 students at that time.

(2) This fact is stated by Mr. *Coxe*, from whom it is here borrowed. See *Travels*, vol. IV. p. 145. *Lond.* 1787.

Students are sent to *Upsala* about the age of sixteen, or even earlier: they lodge in private houses in the town, there being no Colleges; and they are divided into classes, according to the Provinces to which they belong. Lectures begin, as with us, in *October;* and continue for about eight months. The degrees conferred, Degrees. are those of *Philosophiæ Candidatus*, or Bachelor of Arts; *Philosophiæ Magister*, or Master of Arts; and in *Divinity*, *Law*, and *Physic*, the different gradations are styled *Candidatus*, *Licenciatus*, *Doctor*[3]. Before receiving any degree, a student must undergo several examinations from various Professors, and must compose a Latin *Thesis*, Theses. which he is bound to defend in the Schools. Similar exercises are also necessary previous to taking the second degree; and as the different *Theses* are printed, we were at considerable pains to collect all that could be obtained, thinking they would serve to give a good idea of the state of science in this seminary. We pursued, afterwards, the same plan with regard to the University of *Åbo;* and a list of the subjects upon which the principal dissertations were written, will be found in the *Appendix*[4]. Considering

(3) See *Coxe*'s Travels, ib.

(4) The *Amœnitates Academicæ* published in 1749, in 8vo. under the auspices of *Linnæus*, contained a collection of these *Theses*, but not in their

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the manner in which the lectures are given, the sort of people which attend as students, and the total want of all Academical discipline and all incitement to emulation in *Upsala*, it is quite wonderful that it has produced such a number of persons eminent in every branch of science.

Cathedral.

Soon after seeing the Library, we visited the CATHEDRAL, which is hard by; the finest ecclesiastical structure in all *Sweden*[1]. The spire of the Cathedral of *Wästerås* is said to be loftier, but in other respects there can be no comparison between the two edifices. This of *Upsala* is a brick building, in excellent order; having been lately repaired, at a great expense. The architecture of the interior is purely *Gothic;* but the outside of the building exhibits a strange mixture, with pillars of the *Doric* order, in consequence of work done in a later age, when additions were made to the original structure; the

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their original state: they were selected and revised by that great man, and have therefore been regarded as of equal authority with his own writings. The collection alluded to in the *Appendix*, was formed with a view to shew simply what the subjects were of the *Theses* at *Upsala* and *Åbo*, as they were severally printed in their original form in those Universities during nearly half a century. This collection, presented by the author of these Travels, is now in the *University Library* at *Cambridge*, in four volumes quarto.

(1) "Cathedrale ornat templum, inter omnia Suecorum pulcherrimum." *Deliciæ Regn. Suecie, tom.* I. *p.* 380. *L. Bat.* 1706.

cathedral having often suffered from fire, and as often been repaired. It is said to have been begun in the middle of the thirteenth century, under the direction of *Stephen Bonneville*, a *French* architect, who followed in its construction the model of the Church of *Nôtre Dame*, at *Paris*[2]; but this date does not agree with the chronology of the accurate *Messenius*, who, in his "*Epitome Scondiæ illustratæ*," assigns the year 1164 for the commencement of the cathedral[3], which was not completed for above two hundred years afterwards, when its dedication took place with extraordinary pomp and solemnity[4]. As we entered this building, we were much struck by its elegance and neatness. The altar alone exhibited a barbarous style of ornament, being laden with heavy colossal figures, executed in the worst taste, and already hastening fast to destruction. At the western extremity is a magnificent organ, the largest in *Sweden*. Near the altar, inclosed

(2) See *Coxe*'s Travels, vol. IV. p. 131. *Lond.* 1786.

(3) "Carolus rex ibi prima basilicæ jacit fundamenta ex marmore, et post annos cc. fuit opus consummatum." *Messen. Scond. Illust. tom.* XV. *p.* 27. *Stockholm*, 1705.

(4) This happened in the year 1435, (*ibid.* p. 74.) and the event is recorded in the third volume of the same work. "Archimysta etiam Sueoniæ Olaus, consummatam tandem Upsalensium basilicam, Thomâ, Stregnensi episcopo, collegâ adhibito, insigni admodum festivitate, Deo Optimo, Maximo, Divisque, Lausentio, Olao, ac Erico, inauguraverat, dedicaveratque." *Chronol. Scond. tom.* III. *p.* 59. *Stockholm.* 1700.

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in iron net-work, is the silver coffin containing the reliques of Saint *Eric;* not of *Eric the Fourteenth,* the eldest son of *Gustavus Vasa,* as has been erroneously supposed, but of *Eric the Seventh,* son of *Jedvardus,* who being captured in battle by the *Danes,* was beheaded, and afterwards canonized for his virtues. His remains were originally interred in *Old Upsala,* but afterwards transferred to this cathedral[1]. *Eric the Seventh* cuts a brilliant figure in the early annals of *Sweden:* it was this monarch who conquered *Finland,* and first established Christianity among the inhabitants of that country. He formed a

(1) He was taken in battle in the field of *Upsala,* after contending with the greatest bravery against his rebellious subjects, who were aided by the *Danes.* (*Scondiæ Illustratæ, tom.* II. *p.* 5. *Stockholm,* 1700.) The *Swedes* celebrate the *Eighteenth of May* as the day of his martyrdom. (*Ibid.*) His reliques were removed to *New Upsala* in the year 1273. (*Ibid. tom.* XII. *p.* 126.) This monarch is spoken of in terms of high eulogy in the *Swedish* annals. "*Commodis patriæ sedulus invigilat; non paucas fundat ecclesias; ipsas proventibus ornat; Rempublicam quoque insigniter ordinat; æquissimas condit leges; impias abrogat; perversas Suconum consuetudinis radicitus evellit; inde flagitiosos, sine respectu personarum, animadvertit.*" (*Ibid. tom.* II. *p.* 5.) His virtues and severe discipline were not however suited to the views and temper of the Nobles under him, who had been accustomed to live by plunder and piracy; consequently they conspired against his life, and were joined, in a revolt, by the *Danes.* There is nothing worth seeing at *Old Upsala,* or *Gamla Upsala,* now a village, distant about five *English* miles from the modern city, if we except the three *tumuli,* said to be the Sepulchres of *Odin, Frigga,* and *Thor,* which are near the village church. Dr. *Fiott Lee* visited *Gamla Upsala* in 1807, and made a drawing of those *tumuli,* whence the *Vignette* to this Chapter is taken. Dr. *Lee* compares them, in size and appearance, to the *Mounds* near *Bartlow* in *Essex.*

regular Code of the *Swedish* Laws, which bore his name; and he excluded from the benefit of those laws all persons who adhered to their antient heathen superstitions. In a small chapel behind the altar is an oblong monument, the tomb of the famous *Gustavus Vasa*. His effigy is represented in marble, between those of his two first wives, whose remains are interred in the same sepulchre. This interesting monument has sustained considerable injury, owing to a fire, which also did great damage to the cathedral.

There are many other tombs which deserve notice, from their relationship to the *Swedish* history[2]: but all our attention was taken up, and wholly engrossed, by one; namely, the tomb, or rather grave, of *Linnæus*. A simple entablature of stone, let into the pavement at the western extremity of the cathedral, near the door, and under the organ-gallery, now covers the mouldering reliques of this illustrious man. With what emotions of sacred enthusiasm will future generations approach the hallowed spot which has afforded a sepulchre to his remains!—

Burial-place of *Linnæus*.

(2) For an account of which, the Reader may be referred to the valuable information contained in the Travels of Mr. *Coxe*; an author who has made History, as it were, *his home*; and who is never so much *at home* as when he is among the tombs of illustrious persons.—See *Travels into Poland, Russia, and Sweden, vol.* IV. *p.* 132, &c. *Lond.* 1787.

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He, who was every thing that could be required, to give to the studies of Natural History, in the great scale of Science, their dignity and value[1]! How powerful, in its effect upon the heart, will ever be the simple inscription which marks the place where he lies!

OSSA
CAROLI · A · LINNE'

Who will read these words unmoved; or wish to read more! for of the title that has been added, every letter is superfluous[2]. "His NAME," as said his biographer[3], CAN NEVER DIE. IT WILL BE CHERISHED IN THE MEMORY

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(1) "He was early led to regret that NATURAL HISTORY had not, by public institution, been more cultivated in Universities; in many of which, logical disputations and metaphysical theorizing had too long prevailed, to the exclusion of more useful science."—See *Pulteney's Linnæus, by Maton, p.* 496. *Lond.* 1805.

(2) This is the whole of the Inscription:

OSSA
CAROLI · A · LINNE'
EQV · AVR.

MARITO · OPTIMO
FILIO · VNICO
CAROLO · A · LINNE'
PATRIS · SVCCESSORI
ET
SIBI
SARA · ELISABETA · MORÆA

(2) See *Pulteney's Linnæus, by Maton, p.* 506. *Lond.* 1805.

OF EVERY LOVER OF NATURE, AND REMAIN ON THE FAIR RECORDS OF SCIENCE, TO THE END OF TIME." Indeed, time alone is wanted, to shew the extent of his researches, and the depth of his knowledge. He seems to have anticipated whole ages of investigation[4]: and in the goodness of his heart, and the tendency of all his writings and discourses to give glory to the great Author of the works of Nature, there was something not only to admire, but to venerate[5]. In a small chapel near the place of his interment, the students and other inhabitants of *Upsala* have erected a plain but beautiful monument to his memory. It is executed in the fine porphyry of *Elfsdal;* the letters of the inscription being of bronze, gilded, and placed in full relief upon the stone. As far as the workmanship is concerned, nothing can surpass the effect. An objection may be made against the inscription itself, which has very generally been censured, on account of the words *Botanicorum Principi:*

Monument erected by the inhabitants.

(4) Witness the extraordinary remark in his Diary, "that he had never seen *rudera diluvii universalis*, but *successiva temporis*." The most experienced geologist of the present day will know how to appretiate the value of this observation.

(5) "The habit of scrutinizing and contemplating the wonderful energies and economy of Nature, had the effect of inspiring *Linnæus* with an unsophisticated sort of pious feeling, which breaks forth, in various parts of his writings, with a peculiar and most engaging eloquence."— See *Pulteney's Linnæus, by Maton, p.* 497.

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but it should be observed, that this title, and the very words of it, were those which *Linnæus* had chosen to appropriate to himself[1]: and although the inscription would have been much better without any such addition, yet this fact may always be urged in its justification. In its present state, this inscription appears as follows:

CAROLO · A · LINNE'
BOTANICORUM
PRINCIPI

AMICI · ET · DISCIPVLI
MDCCLXXXXVIII.

The expense of this monument, plain and simple as it seems, amounted to two thousand rix-dollars; of which sum, four hundred were expended in supplying the bronze characters of the inscription. On the south side of the same aisle there is a Monument to the memory of *Menander* archbishop of *Upsala*, erected by his son. This monument was executed in *Italy*; and it is adorned with sculptured figures in marble. A piece of sculptured alabaster also represents the prelate, leaning upon his *Biblia*

(1) "He was styled, by all Botanists, PRINCEPS BOTANICORUM." See *Linnæus's Diary, p. 566. Pulteney's Linn. by Maton. Lond.* 1805.

Fennica, receiving the homage of a Groupe of Figures, whom we supposed to represent the Muses, from the circumstance of their being preceded by a winged *Apollo*.

Among the reliques preserved here, there are some so exceedingly curious, that we cannot omit the mention of them, although they have been noticed by many other travellers. Foremost in the list of these, is the wooden image of the God *Thor*, who may justly be styled "the loggerhead idol of the Northern nations." It is much such a representation of the human head in a log of wood, as *Scheffer*, in his work "*De Diis Lapponum Paganicis*," has figured, with a worshipper before it in the act of adoration[2]. According to *Scheffer*, the image of *Thor* was always of wood, and of this rude workmanship: it was an idol made out of a birch-tree, the head out of the root, and the body out of the trunk[3]. This is connected with the old worship of fire; and, as a proof of it, the votaries of *Thor* used to drive an iron nail, with a small piece of flint, into the idol's head[4]. The image

Image of *Thor*.

(2) Joannis Schefferi Lapponia, p. 105. *Francof.* 1673.

(3) "Hæc idola faciunt ex betula, et ex radice quidem caput, ex trunco seu caudice partem reliquam." *Ibid.*

(4) "In capite infigunt clavum ferreum, cum silicis particula, ut si videatur, ignem *Thor* excutiat." *Ibid.*

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was perhaps borrowed from the upright center log, around which, as at the present day in the Northern forests, fuel was heaped, whenever a fire was kindled by the natives. All these antient superstitions, as they refer to the customs of mankind in its rudest state, so they may be still found, in their prototypes, among the simple observances, habits, and manners, of a savage people. The *Yule Clog* still retains a degree of reverence in the northern parts of *England;* the origin of which may have been of the same nature with that in which the *Swedish* idol was held by its worshippers. The log itself, as a symbol of the fire for which it was used, became an object of worship[1]. Whatever opinion may prevail upon this subject, we shall find that a similar superstition respecting the same sort of idol has prevailed almost all over the world. Among the antient idols of *Greece*, the *Palladium* was of this description; for it was nothing more than a piece of wood of an extraordinary form[2]. We considered, therefore, this image of *Thor* as one of the most curious antiquities that any country has preserved; as connected not only

(1) See *Brand*'s Popular Antiquities, pp. 155, 157. *Newcastle upon Tyne*, 1777. Also *Brady*'s Clavis Calendaria, vol. I. p. 124. *Lond.* 1812.

(2) See the observations of *Heyné*, in his *Excursus*, upon the *Palladium* and the *Penates*.

with the early history of *Sweden*, but with the most antient mythology in the world[3]; and as being worthy of a much more careful keeping than it seems to have here met with, where, from the disregard shewn to its preservation, it is not likely to remain for any considerable length of time. Another curiosity shewn here is more in unison with the taste of a people who preserve among their reliques many a sanguinary testimony of the deeds of murder committed in this country; namely, the coat worn by *Eric* the son of *Steno Sture*, his shirt, silk breeches, and purse, when he was stabbed by *Eric the Fourteenth;* the place where the wound was inflicted being visible, owing to the marks of blood which flowed from the unfortunate victim[4]. Here is also shewn a more singular standard than perhaps was ever used in any country to excite the valour of its troops: nor do the *Swedes*, in battle, stand in need of any artificial trophies to call their bravery into action; being, by nature, warlike. It is nothing

Bloody Coat of *Eric*.

(3) According to Mr. *Coxe*, a correct delineation of this image occurs in the *Monumenta Ullarekarensia* of *Perinskiold*.

(4) See *Coxe's* Travels, vol. IV. p. 137. *Lond.* 1786. for the description of the monument of the illustrious family of the *Sturcs*, and for the interesting inscription upon their tomb, which is in a small chapel of this Cathedral.

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Shift of *Margaret.*

more than a dirty rag, fixed to a staff, like a banner; and called *Margaret's Shift*, or *Shirt*. The history of it does not seem to be very well known: all that we could gather respecting it, has been stated by our own countryman, Mr. *Coxe;* who says of it, that it was found by the *Swedes* at *Nuremberg*, when they captured the place; and afterwards by them deposited here, in honour of the Semiramis of the North[1]. Lastly, we were shewn the magnificent robes worn by the Archbishop and other Clergy upon great festivals: they are principally of velvet, embroidered with gold. This collection is kept in a sacristy, up a small flight of stone steps, near the Gothic window of the cathedral: the reliques are preserved in a chamber closed by double doors of massive iron, with ponderous rusty locks.

New Botanic Garden.

After seeing the *Cathedral*, we went to the NEW BOTANIC GARDEN and Green-houses; in which latter are apartments for Professor *Afzelius*, the *Demonstrator of Botany*, as he is here

(1) See *Coxe's* Travels, vol. IV. p. 141. *Lond.* 1786.—"How this shift," observes the same author, "was first procured by the inhabitants of *Nuremberg*, why it was there considered as a relique, and the exact period when it was imported into *Sweden*, I must leave to be ascertained by those who are disposed to trace its history and adventures. I did not learn, however, that it has ever had the honour of giving a name to any particular colour, like the shift of *Isabella*, Queen of *Castile*."

called, and also for Professor *Thunberg*. To this place all the collection formed by Professor *Thunberg*, in his extensive travels, was at this time about to be removed; the Professor having presented it to the University, for public use. The plan was, to place the whole in one oblong room of very considerable grandeur, but certainly not sufficiently capacious to exhibit it to advantage. The Museum ought to have been of the same dimensions as the Green-house, which runs parallel to it, and will perhaps be the first Conservatory of the kind in Europe. They were already beginning to move the plants into this Green-house, from the Old Botanic Garden. In the front of the building is the new Lecture Room, with a magnificent dome and a sky-light. Immediately under this dome is placed the Professor's Chair; and behind the *cathedral* is a bust of *Linnæus*, to whose memory both this building and also the New Botanic Garden may be considered as sacred. As to the garden itself, when considered with reference to a University that has done so much for the science of Botany, it can hardly be deemed worthy of *Upsala*. It consists of six *Swedish* acres of ground, lying beneath the windows of the Palace, and on its western side. But it contains nothing remarkable; and the

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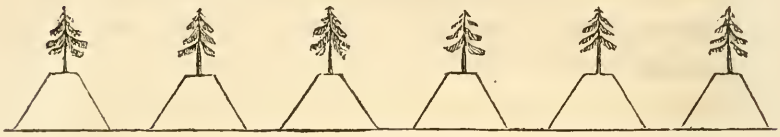
wretched taste which has been shewn in laying it out may be conceived, when it is mentioned, that an avenue of clipped fir-trees, barbarously cut into more artificial and formal shapes than ever characterized a Dutchman's garden, lead from the entrance to the Green-house.



Setting aside the ugly formality of this appearance[1], there is another reason for desiring the removal of such an avenue, in the injury done to the garden. The roots of so many fir-trees, occupying a considerable portion of the ground, must have a pernicious tendency in obstructing the growth of plants: and surely in *Sweden*, which is one vast region of firs, from *Scania* to *Lapmark*, an addition of this kind was not required for the Botanic garden of its principal University. The whole of this new establishment, including the Green-house, Museum, Lecture Room, Garden, &c. may be considered

Lecture Room.

(1) Which is nevertheless a relique of *Roman* taste, as appears from a passage of *Pliny's* Letters before cited. See Vol. IX. of these Travels, p. 58. Note (2.) Octavo Edition.

as one of the splendid monuments of the reign of *Gustavus the Third*, to whom it is entirely due; and of whom, in the present conflicting state of party and opinion in *Sweden*, it is almost impossible to speak with truth and accuracy. According to one set of men, his memory should be held as deservedly glorious. When his conduct in public affairs is censured, as having proved ruinous to the *Swedish* finances, "let the works he left behind him," say they, "at least be properly estimated, to prove that his lavish expenditure of the public money was always intended for the public good, and never idly nor vainly squandered." The same set of men affirm that *Gustavus the Third* was not calculated for the *Swedes;* that his polished manners and enlightened mind were too refined for them; that not a single work exists in *Sweden* calculated to promote public honours, to give encouragement to the arts and sciences, to improve the manufactures, or to afford patronage to learning, but it may be referred to his reign. Equally endowed, they add, by every qualification that is requisite to form the character of a profound statesman and a great king, posterity will recall with gratitude the memory of this distinguished monarch, will drop a tear in viewing the splendid monuments of his taste and patriotism, and will

Conflicting opinions respecting *Gustavus the Third.*

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shudder in the recollection of his fate: and when the prejudices of party, the interests of selfish politicians, and the suggestions of private resentment, shall be done away, future generations will read his history, and place him with *Augustus* and *Hadrian*. Having heard this eulogium, as it is frequently pronounced in *Sweden*, the whole of it will be contradicted by an opposite statement, made by persons who spare no pains to execrate the very name of *Gustavus the Third;* and who, vilifying his character by the most odious of calumnies, speak of him only as an object of detestation. The time is not yet arrived when History will place him in his true light. In the mean time, to counteract in some degree the injurious designs of his adversaries, it may be added, from the representation made by those who resided with him while he was in *France*, and were intimately acquainted with the man, that nothing can be more unjust than the aspersions cast upon his private character[1].

Having thus described whatever is worthy the notice of a traveller visiting the public buildings of this University, a few words may now be added upon the manners of the inha-

(1) In this number was the late Professor *Pallas*, and other distinguished men of letters, with whom *Gustavus* associated.

bitants. When an *Englishman* speaks of the Universities of *Sweden*, or when he is reading the different accounts that have been published of *Upsala*, it is not often that any right notions are entertained, either of the Seminary that bears this name, or of the habits and tact of the Students and Professors. If, for example, he forms his notion of a *Swedish* University from any thing he has seen of similar establishments in his own country, associating ideas of *Cambridge* and *Oxford* with his imaginary conceptions of *Upsala*, *Lund*, and *Åbo*, he will be egregiously in error. It is not easy to conceive any thing more foreign to all our notions of the dignity and splendour of a national seminary for education, than in the real state of things in *Upsala*. Perhaps there may be something to compare with it in the Universities of *Scotland*; but even in the last there is nothing so low as in *Sweden*. Let the Reader figure to himself a few dirty-looking lackeys out of place, lounging about in slouched white hats, with a loose surtout thrown over their shoulders, one arm of which hangs empty and dangling by their side, and long military boots rising above the knees; their hair uncut, uncombed, and undressed, hanging as long in front as in the rear, but parted over the middle of the forehead, so as to

Habits and manners of the Students.

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fall in long unsightly tresses about the eyes, cheeks, and ears; giving to the whole figure an appearance not unlike the effigies which the rabble in *England* dress up to represent *Guy Fawkes* upon a Fifth of *November*. This description of their costume is no exaggeration; it is peculiar to all of them, of whatever rank or situation in the University, boys or men; but by much the greater part are boys. Then for their lodgings;—for, as it was before stated, there is no such building as a College for the accommodation of any of them: they all dwell in hired lodgings, in the private houses of the tradesmen and other inhabitants:—entering one of these lodgings, and comparing them with the justly reprehensible luxury and extravagance visible in the room of a student in our *English* Universities, the contrast is great indeed!—a single gloomy chamber, with a bench or couch, by way of bed, in one corner; a stove, and perhaps two chairs; the naked walls hung with wretched prints or dingy-looking maps; and tobacco-pipes, and other lumber, littering about the chamber. We found here one of the identical party by whom we were formerly assailed in our journey from *Umeå* to *Malmagen*, in the *Norwegian* Alps; and whom we have mentioned in a former Volume, as a student of *Upsala*,

who presented to us some *Runic* Calendars[1]. By his means we obtained an introduction to many of his fellow-students, and became acquainted with the internal policy of the place. Every one studies what, and when, he pleases: of course, very little real application to learning takes place among them. Soon after mid-day, they resort in numbers, "*à la cave*," as it is termed; that is to say, to a public cellar for drinking, of which there are two or three in *Upsala*, precisely answering to the tap-rooms in *English* alehouses. Here they smoke tobacco, and drink beer, or brandy, or wine. The *beer* is a composition manufactured at *Stockholm*, and very bad: although perhaps less unwholesome than the deleterious mixture now sold under the name of *beer* in *England;* which, by its baneful effects, has actually altered the character of the lower orders, and substituted a morbid and gloomy irascibility for jovial hilarity; so that a merry drunkard is hardly ever seen. The *wine*, though called *French wine*, is also from the breweries of *Stockholm;* and the *brandy* is of the worst quality. *Swedish brandy*, in whatever part of the country it is found, is everywhere alike; a weak spirit, flavoured with aniseed,

Public Cellars.

(1) See p. 122 of the Xth Volume of these Travels.

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and, when diluted with water, causing a precipitation, as if milk had been added to the mixture. In these cellars they remain, not only the whole of the rest of the day, but until long after midnight, and sometimes all night. Their revels too, or rather brawls, are not unfrequently attended by blows; their disputes, especially when they are of a political nature, ending often in pugilistic combats.

We visited one of these cellars; and found about twenty of the students enveloped by thick fumes of tobacco-smoke; some of whom were sleeping upon chairs, and others lolling upon a bench. Our friend, who introduced us, announced that we were from the University of *Cambridge:* upon which the greater part did us the honour to rise; forming a circle round us, and asking several questions relative to our journey, and motives for visiting *Sweden*. These we were preparing to answer; when a votary of *Bacchus,* giving us a hearty slap between our shoulders, reminded us, that, as strangers, we ought to drink upon our coming among them. Some glasses being presented, filled with bad *Malaga* wine, we immediately drank "To the prosperity of the University of *Upsala*." A young *American* student, who was one of the company present, did not seem to relish the sort of wel-

come they were disposed to give us: and at the same time being eager to make known the principles he had imbibed, he said we might have swallowed the *Malaga* without a ceremonious toast:—and then he added, "The students of *Upsala*, brought up in the school of Liberty, are not constrained, as in *England*, to interrupt their libations with the palaver of a toast." To this we made answer, that we were thankful for the information; as it would enable us to avail ourselves of that freedom from restraint, which he boasted, to resign our glasses; having no other use for them than to testify our wishes for the success of a University so celebrated as that of *Upsala*. However, having set the example, the hearty *Swedes* were not deficient in courtesy towards the strangers; but all filling bumpers, drank, with loud cheers, "Prosperity to the University of *Cambridge!*"—while the surly *Yankee* remained silent, and sat apart, puffing fumes from his pipe.

Conduct of the Students towards the Professors.

The heat of one of these cellars is almost equal to that of a vapour-bath. Sometimes they all sally forth; and woe betide the unpopular Professor who may happen to be in their way, when the *convives* quit their sudatories! They have two different watch-words; one of which controuls or animates their fury upon

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these occasions. If the Professor be a favourite, the cry of '*vivat!*' is heard, and he is suffered to proceed without molestation; but if otherwise, a shout of '*pereat!*' is the signal for attack; when the Professor either makes his escape as rapidly as he can, or is very roughly handled. There is no account taken, as in our Universities, of the hours when they return to their lodgings. Every one acts as he thinks proper in this respect. Discipline, if ever any such regulation existed in *Upsala*, has long ceased; and in the total laxity of all wholesome restraint among a set of untamed youths let loose from their parents, it may be imagined what disorders must ensue. Indeed it was much to be feared at this time, and the event has in some degree justified the apprehension, that this famous University, called, by *Stillingfleet*, "that great and hitherto unrivalled School of Natural History," together with the Empire it no longer adorned, were hastening to their dissolution. The number of students has been said to vary annually from six hundred to a thousand, which is a gross exaggeration of the truth: their number at this time, as was before stated, did not exceed three hundred; and no instance occurs of more than thirty being present at the same time at any public lecture.

Total want of discipline among the Students.

It may be urged, and with truth, that public drinking-cellars are not the places in which to look for the reading class of the students: men seriously disposed towards studious employment are seldom those, in any University, who are seen in the streets or in taverns: but there was no such individual to be found in the place as a student distinguished by his talents and by his attention to University studies; and for this plain reason, that there were none of those public examinations, and those trials of ability, with distribution of honours and rewards, which powerfully call emulation into action; stimulating that love of fame inherent in every human breast, especially in youth; and feeding the fire of genius, by agitating every latent spark, until it bursts into flame. It cannot be expected, that in a society like that of *Upsala*, destitute alike of discipline and of all the springs of mental energy, its students will ever become much distinguished. Among a number of young men so circumstanced, it is not at all marvellous to observe an indifference with regard to morals, and a striking disregard of all precept and admonition. The fault is not with them: under a better system, there can be no doubt of their becoming bright ornaments of their country; because a love of truth, strict honesty, goodness

Neglected state of Science.

Want of emulation.

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of heart, generosity, assiduity, serenity of mind, firmness, constancy, courage—all these, and many other qualifications, that become a man, and fit him to shine as a distinguished member of society, are the natural characteristics of the generality of the *Swedes*. There is one virtue, however, which we have been compelled to omit in the list: we may not add sobriety, when we are speaking of the students of *Upsala;* because their chief vice consists in habits of intoxication: and it is a vice not easily to be exterminated, in a country where examples of sobriety are so much wanted. If parents consider it no degradation to be seen by their children in a state of drunkenness, it is not to be expected that the rising generation should acquire more polished and rational habits. The consequence however, in *Sweden*, is deeply to be deplored. Young men, grown old before the period of their youth has expired, make their appearance before a traveller with sallow countenances, fallen cheeks, dim eyes, bending bodies, nostrils clotted with snuff, an enormous tobacco-pipe dangling from their lips, their teeth black and carious; sitting in gloomy apartments filled with smoke and fetid air, the floors of which are covered with the filth of expectoration; and at the age of five-and-twenty having

Habits of intoxication.

anticipated, by their excesses, the decrepitude and infirmities of fourscore. Perhaps it will be said, that this picture is too highly coloured; and that a feeling of disgust, excited by the view of some rare instances where this description is applicable, may have led to too general a remark. Of this others may determine: the remark is made as it was written in the country to which it refers; and if it be found afterwards less extensive in its application than was believed at the time, the author, who has not seen *Sweden* "with a jaundiced eye," may be acquitted of any intentional deviation from the truth. The passing traveller must see many things in haste, and perhaps form many of his conclusions too rapidly. He may also, from the very circumstance of his transitory intercourse with the inhabitants, view some things in a more advantageous light that would be admitted by those who reside for a long time in the country. Sometimes, in conversing with those of his own countrymen who have remained long in *Sweden*, where the author has extolled the hospitable and obliging disposition of the natives, he has been told that the novelty of seeing strangers makes them load the new-comer with all manner of caresses and favours; but that when this wears off, the disposition to confer acts of kind-

Character of the *Swedes*.

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ness ceases also. And surely, where a tendency to spunge upon the noble hospitality of a *Swede* has caused a stranger to exhaust the benevolent feeling extended in his behalf, he is rightly served if he experience the full effect of its diminution. Some of the *French* emigrants, as it is well known, did make remarks of this nature; and their natural peevishness of temper led them to vilify their benefactors. *Sweden* is not the only country where they evinced a similar disposition—cursing, rather than blessing the hand that fed them. *De Latochnaye* was an emigrant, and a writer of this description; little disposed to acknowledge the extent of his obligation to those by whom he was so hospitably entertained, both in *Sweden* and *Norway:* and surely, if any one ever put the *Swedish* hospitality to its full trial, it was *De Latochnaye;* who, having met with a serious accident in the north of *Sweden,* took up his abode with a family of the name of *Nordenfalk,* with whom he remained until his recovery was complete; receiving the whole time a degree of attention and kindness which could not have been exceeded if he had been himself a member of that family: and for once he has permitted himself to acknowledge the hospitality he experienced, during his long residence in the house

of *Nordenfalk,* in terms of gratitude[1]. What becomes then of the observation, that the *Swedes* only shew their hospitality to a stranger so long as he may be considered as a stranger? At the same time, in describing the manners as well as the good qualities of the *Swedes,* there are some barbarous habits which cannot be overlooked. The elegancies, and even the comforts of polished life, are almost unknown in many parts of the country: hence it is that the middle class of females are not ashamed to use their fingers, instead of a pocket-handkerchief, in wiping their noses. *De Latochnaye,* of course, did not allow this practice to escape his observation: accordingly, we read the following facetious remark upon the use to which a pocket-handkerchief is applied by the female peasants of *Dalecarlia;* and it is also applied to other female peasants throughout the country:—"*Le mouchoir, en Suède, est diversement employé par les gens de différens rangs: en se rendant à l'église, les paysannes, qui sont communément proprement vêtues, ont un livre et un mouchoir blanc à la main, ce qui ne les empêche pas cependant de se moucher avec les*

(1) "Je quittai enfin la maison hospitalière de *Holm,* le cœur pénétré des attentions qu'on y avait eus pour moi." *Promenade d'un Français en Suède, &c. tom.* II. *p.* 47. *à Brunswick,* 1801.

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doigts[1]." Add to this the abominable practice, as in *Germany*, which is confined neither to rank nor sex, of spitting upon the floors of all the apartments. The sooner such habits are banished, the better; even the subject being, to an *English* ear, very revolting. We may therefore pass to the mention of other characteristics, more pleasing to enumerate; and bring this Chapter to a close. Nothing is more strikingly conspicuous in the disposition of a *Swede*, than simplicity of mind and sincerity of heart; but these qualities will be found to degenerate sometimes into great credulity, and a too easy confidence in the honesty of strangers. The *Swedes* are always open to imposition, and ready to follow the dictates of any leader, however sinister his designs may be. In the remotest provinces, upon the coming of a traveller who may want assistance, they advance their money without security; and rely implicitly upon the honour of perfect strangers to repay what necessity has demanded and hospitality has allowed without the smallest hesitation. These reflections occupied the author's mind, as he was preparing to leave *Upsala*, and to repair once more to *Stockholm;* while he ruminated upon the long tract of

(1) *Promenade d'un Français en Suède, &c. tom.* I. *p.* 241.

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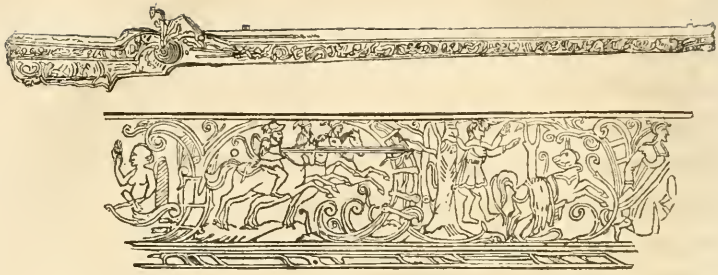
Swedish territory over which he had journeyed, and called to mind the people he had seen. From the *Arctic Circle* to the entrance into the *Baltic Sea*, the *Swedes* are, with little variation, the same. A remarkable uniformity may be considered as distinguishing not only the aspect of the country, but also the minds and persons of the inhabitants. A traveller who has been accustomed to remark the sudden change, in *Italy*, in passing the most insignificant natural or artificial boundary; who sees the people on one side of a bridge quite a different race from those on the other; is surprised, in such a country as *Sweden*, when he finds the natives of the most distant provinces appearing as though they were all members of the same family.

Uniform aspect of the Country and its inhabitants.



Curious Wheel-lock Musket.

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UPSALA TO STOCKHOLM.

Specimens from the Herbarium of Linnæus — *Curious Wheel-lock Musket*—Gamla Upsala—*Skocloster*—*State of* Stockholm *upon the Author's Return*—*Character of the young King*—*Table-talk*—*Royal Fête at the Opera House*—*Evening's Adventure*—*Reflections on the Death of the former Monarch*—*Opening of the Sepulchre of* Charles the Twelfth—*Interruption of the amity between* England *and* Sweden — *Club called* The Society — *Resemblance to* Italian *Customs*—*Booksellers*—*Public Dinners*—*Interior of the Houses*—*Coffee prohibited*—*Anecdotes of the King* — *Probable Contents of the Chests at* Upsala—*State of Literature*—*Deplorable condition of the Country*—*Places of Public Amusement*—*Academies*—*Riots at* Upsala—*Royal Palace*—*Chapel*—*State*

State Apartments—Picture Gallery—Private Cabinets of Gustavus the Third.

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THE young Student, who, by his attentions here, had so amply made amends for his former rudeness to us in *Helsingland*[1], possessed, notwithstanding his Gothic manner and appearance, a heart open and liberal, and somewhat of a taste for science, especially in forming collections of natural history and the antiquities of his country. We before noticed this circumstance[2], when mention was made of his *Herbarium* and *Runic Calendars*. In the single chamber which he occupied at *Upsala*, and which constituted his whole set of lodgings for bed and board, the room was strewed with the harvest of his summer excursions—boxes of insects, dried plants, and whatever curious old relique of antient customs in *Sweden* he could pick up. Among his plants, he had a few specimens that belonged to *Linnæus*, which that illustrious man had himself pasted upon papers, and, at the back of each specimen, had marked by his own autograph names: he presented no less than five of these to us[3]. With the exception only

Specimens from the *Herbarium* of *Linnæus*.

(1) See the former Volume of these Travels, p. 121.

(2) Ibid. p. 122.

(3) They have been since presented to the *Fitzwilliam Museum*, in *Cambridge*, where they are now preserved.

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of the first, they are all described in the *Flora Lapponica* and *Flora Svecica*[1].

Curious wheel-lock Musket.

But the most singular rarity of his apartment was an old wheel-lock musket which stood in one corner of the room, and which he told us one of his ancestors had formerly brought into *Sweden* from *Pomerania*. It was probably a part of the spoils of war: and as it seemed to us to be one of the most extraordinary works of art existing, and he wished to part with it, we bought it of him for the price at which he valued it. Once it must have cost an enormous sum; being, in all

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(1) The first, as the autograph states at the back of it, grew in the *Botanic Garden* at *Upsala*.

1. Biscutella Apula—a native of *Italy*, vulgarly called "*Spear-leaved Buckler-mustard.*"—The plant is too well known to need further description.
2. Arabis Alpina. (*Flor. Lapp.* 257. *p.* 213. *Amst.* 1737.) commonly called *Alpine Wall-Cress*. It is a native of the *Alps*, and other mountains of *Europe*; being found on rocks, in caverns, and in woods. We found it often in the higher parts of *Lapland*. It was cultivated at *Oxford* in 1658; and is now become very common in gardens §.
3. Gnaphalium sylvaticum. (*Flor. Svec.* 675. *p.* 243. *Stockh.* 1745.) The "*Wood Everlasting*, or *English upright Cudweed.*"—It grows in several parts of *England*.
4. Lichen physodes. (*Flor. Svec.* 951. *p.* 346. *Stockh.* 1745.) The well-known Moss of the Birch-tree.
5. Lichen velleus. This was found by *Linnæus* upon the *Lapland* rocks. (*Flor. Lapp.* 454. *p.* 345. *Amst.* 1737.) In his *Flora Svecica* (*vid.* 968. *p.* 353. *Stockh.* 1745.) he says it is common near *Upsala*.

§ See *Miller*'s Dict. by *Martyn*, Vol. I. (*Arabis.*)

respects, fitted not merely to adorn, but to cut a splendid figure among the weapons of a regal armoury. To give a complete account of this curious relique, would require an entire volume, illustrated with an hundred plates. The whole of the stock, from the lower extremity of the butt to the muzzle of the barrel, is of ivory inlaid with ebony; representing, in a series of masterly designs, the Bible History, from the Creation to the time of David. The style of these designs is like that which may be often observed in old illuminated manuscripts, and in the wood-cuts copied from such illuminations; which seem as if they had been all borrowed from the works of the same master[2]. In the representation, for example, of the creation of mankind, the Deity is pourtrayed in the dress of the Pope, handing Eve out of Adam's side[3]: yet there are parts of

(2) Beginning from the muzzle of the musket, and proceeding from left to right towards the butt, and back again, the whole length of the opposite side of the stock, there are nearly one hundred pictures exhibited by means of exquisitely inlaid ivory. The first delineation represents the Animal Creation; then follows the Creation and Fall of Man; the Expulsion of the Human Race from Paradise; their Agricultural Labours; the Death of Abel; the History of Noah; the Deluge; &c. &c.—the whole being considered, in all probability, as a connected series of powerful amulets, calculated to protect the bearer of this musket from all dangers "ghostly and bodily."

(3) See the account of a splendid MS. in the Mostyn Library in *Flintshire*, as communicated by the Author to the celebrated *Pennant*, for his "History of the Parishes of *Whiteford* and *Holywell*," *p.* 74. *Lond.* 1796.

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the workmanship equal to the performances of *Albert Durer*, and which exhibit characteristic marks of the age in which he lived[1].

Gamla Upsala.

Before we left *Upsala*, we should have visited the village of *Gamla-Upsala*, distant about five *English* miles north of the modern city, if there had been any remains of antiquity there worth the trouble of making an excursion on purpose to view them. In our former journey from *Upsala* to *Gefle*, we had before passed in sight of the village church; near to which are the three remarkable *tumuli* represented in the *Vignette* to the preceding Chapter, and which tradition has assigned to the bodies of *Odin*, *Frigga*, and *Thor*. Nothing can be more obscure than the history of the first kings, or divinities as they are often called, of antient *Scandinavia*; in which, the more we seek for information, the farther we seem to recede from all hope of coming at the truth. A great source of error has been caused by confounding the *Teutonic* with the *Celtic* nations, which were, *ab origine*, two distinct people[2]. Conical heaps raised over

(1) A Vignette prefixed to this Chapter will serve to shew the form of this curious weapon, and also one of the numerous representations upon the stock.

(2) See Mallet's Northern Antiquities, Pref. to Vol. I. *Edinb.* 1809.

the dead are generally *Celtic* sepulchres; but in the rarity of *Celtic* monuments in *Sweden* and *Norway*, added to other circumstances conspicuous in the appearance of the ground about the supposed sepulchres of *Gamla Upsala*, which have never yet been opened, or in any way duly examined, there is reason to suspect that these will hereafter be found to be natural elevations, and not artificial heaps. A little time spent upon the spot may hereafter enable some curious traveller to ascertain the real nature of those *tumuli*. If they should be proved to be places of burial, there is little probability of their having been constructed by the ancestors of the present race of *Swedes*, who in the period when such mounds were raised over the dead in the north of Europe were not inhabitants of *Sweden*. At a much later period in history, when *Mithradates* sought for refuge in those deserts of *Russia* now inhabited by the *Don Cossacks*, the followers of *Odin*, being obliged to withdraw themselves from the vengeance of the *Romans*, began to seek, at this distance from the field of *Pompey*'s triumphs, that safety which they could not find in their own country[3].

(3) *Mallet* makes their principal city, at that time, *Asgard*, between the *Black Sea* and the *Caspian*; considering them as the *Ases*, a race of *Scythians*;

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We now took our last leave of *Upsala*, and set out again for *Stockholm*, through an open, flat, and fertile country. We passed *Skocloster*, as in our former journey, on the right, the seats of the Counts of *Brahe*, one of the oldest families in *Sweden*. In the house there is a curious collection of antiquities and other rarities, which are esteemed worth seeing. It lies out of the main route. In this part of our journey we observed, upon the eastern side of the road, a few reliques of the primeval inhabitants of the country; such as, rude upright masses of stone and *tumuli*, which seemed to be sepulchral mounds.

Skocloster.

The political events of the day, upon our return to the Capital, will have lost all interest, from the length of time that has elapsed before the publication of this Part of our Travels; but as they are intimately connected with the *Swedish* history, we shall not entirely omit the mention of them. A number of express couriers, passing us upon the road, had already apprised us of the birth of the young Prince, which had just taken place; messages being despatched with

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thians; and thinks there is reason to believe that *Azof*, or, as he writes it, *As-of*, derived its name from this nation. But who will venture into an inquiry where, as he judiciously observes, "the most profound researches, the most ingenious conjectures, discover nothing to us but our own ignorance?"

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State of *Stockholm* on the Author's return.

the intelligence to all parts of the kingdom. He was born on Friday, *November* 8th; and afterwards christened by *Troil* archbishop of *Upsala*. We arrived upon the 16th. Some slight disturbances had taken place, which were very generally the subject of conversation. Upon the day appointed for the celebration of the birth of his Majesty *Gustavus the Fourth*, the shopkeepers of *Stockholm* had given a dinner to the *French* Consul. Among other ceremonies at this *fête*, two busts had been prepared, and publickly exhibited; the one of *Buonaparte*, and the other of Field-Marshal General *Suwarof*. The company drank pumpers of wine to the health of *Buonaparte*, but filled their glasses with water when *Suwarof*'s health was proposed, and discharged their contents in the face of his bust. At this the King had been so much displeased, as already to shew the most marked resentment towards some of the offenders. *Dupuis*, leader of the opera band of musicians, was banished the kingdom. One of the comedians was also ordered to quit the country; together with *Robinhof*, master of the tavern where the dinner was held. It is necessary to state these particulars, in order to explain what happened at the Theatre as soon as we returned. The King was present; when

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the comedian here alluded to, in the part he acted, held a dialogue with an actress as a chambermaid, who addressed him in the following manner :—

> " Begone! what are you doing here? You must be sent away."

To which he answered :

> " It may be so : but I shall not stir. I am very well where I am ; and intend to remain here."

At the delivery of these words, a sudden and very vehement applause burst from the audience. The King, evidently ruffled, rose from his seat, waving his hand, and calling silence : but the applause became louder than ever, and his Majesty sate down disconcerted. The actor, it seems, had been ordered into exile ; but had not been banished, because the King owed him above a thousand dollars. After the piece concluded, the debt was paid, and the player was ordered to leave *Stockholm* within twenty-four hours. We had frequent opportunities of hearing the King's character discussed. He was said not to have any private intimacies, nor to have been influenced by any of those creatures called *favourites*, because he never had one. He superintended and directed every thing himself; consequently every

Character of the young King.

thing was mismanaged. The state of the public finances was becoming daily more and more deplorable: and this was to be expected, where so young a monarch presided over and governed all things, endeavouring, upon all occasions, only to shew how completely absolute he was. His Ministers, moreover, were men utterly incapable of rendering him any effectual counsel, if they had been consulted,—which was not the case. One day, the merchants of *Stockholm* waited upon him, to represent the ruin that would inevitably befall them, if the public credit were not retrieved: to which the young monarch replied, that "it was not for a set of commercial men to trouble their heads with such matters—that he had already considered their situation, and had taken proper measures to prevent the evil from taking place."

When the Queen's *accouchement* drew nigh, according to the usual ceremony of etiquette observed more or less in many Courts, but rigidly adhered to in *Sweden*, the King, the Duchess of *Sudermania*, and other exalted personages, amounting in all to twenty persons (among whom were some unmarried men), were stationed about her person, to become the spectators of her pains and delivery. It was said, that, with a view to avoid the indecency of such an

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exposure, the late Queen kept the moment, when her throes were coming on, a secret; by which means she escaped a public *accouchement*. At this time, no persons in *Stockholm*, who affected to be versed in State secrets, or who, from their situation, might be supposed to possess accurate knowledge with regard to such matters, regarded the reigning sovereign as the son of his predecessor. The Courts of despotic Princes are generally the very hot-beds of every species of revolting slander; and, in the list of these, the Court of *Sweden*[1] was peculiarly conspicuous for the foulness of the calumnies which were set on foot against every individual about the throne. We shall neither sully these pages, nor offend the Reader, by detailing the opprobrious anecdotes which were everywhere in circulation respecting these august personages: but as the similitude which the reigning monarch

(1) It may be said that the government of *Sweden* was not wholly despotic. Mr. *Coxe* considered the King of *Sweden* as a limited, but not a despotic sovereign. (*See Travels, &c. vol.* II. *p.* 372. *Lond.* 1784.) But the same author acknowledges (*p.* 369) that "the whole of the executive power is virtually vested in the King: for though it is said to be entrusted to him conjointly with the Senate, yet, as his Majesty appoints and removes all the members of that council, and, in the administration of affairs, asks only their advice, without being bound to follow it, he is absolute master of the Senate." *Sheridan* (*Hist. of the late Revolut. in Sweden, &c. p.* 301) considered the King of *Sweden*, after the Revolution in 1772, as "no less absolute at *Stockholm*, than the Grand Signior at *Constantinople*."

was supposed to bear to General *Monk*, a friend of the late King, who was banished from the *Swedish* Court during the Regency, was often urged, in table-talk, as a proof of the relationship in which he stood to this officer, it would not be consistent with that freedom of communication which has been shewn in conducting the whole of this narrative, if no allusion were made to the fact. We could neither confirm nor contradict the truth of the supposed resemblance, having never seen the officer to whom allusion is made. The generality of the *Swedes* considered the features of *Gustavus the Fourth* as a striking resemblance of the portraits of *Charles the Twelfth:* and, after examining the cast[2] made of the face of *Charles*, we were struck by an evident family likeness; which, at least, goes to prove, that if such indications of descent be worth attending to, there is as much to urge for, as against, his legitimacy[3]. For the rest, in his figure, *Gustavus the Fourth* was thin, and

(2) This will be further described in the sequel.

(3) Dr. *Thomson*, who has written a very interesting chapter on the Character and Conduct of *Gustavus the Fourth*, says that the likeness to *Charles the Twelfth* was not confined to his person, but that he possessed certain qualities which gave him a moral resemblance to that prince. (*See Thomson's Travels in Sweden, p.* 115. *Lond.* 1813.) See also the Portrait of *Gustavus the Fourth*, engraved for Dr. *Thomson's* work, which is a striking likeness of him.

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apparently feeble, with a pale countenance. He looked most advantageously when dressed in regimentals; and worst of all when he appeared in the effeminate gala suit which the late King had introduced into the *Swedish* Court—a style of dress better suited to mountebanks or stage-players, than for the representatives of the warlike *Goths!*

Royal Fête at the Opera House.

Upon the 21st of *November*, the entertainments of the evening at the Opera House were given gratis by the King to the public. To gain admission, it was only necessary to go in full dress; and we were present upon that occasion. The *coup d'œil*, upon entering the theatre, was very brilliant. The boxes consisted of five tiers of seats; the ladies being ranged in the front rows. The stage was lighted by two large cut glass chandeliers, which were drawn up when the curtain rose. In the centre of the pit, upon a platform covered with green cloth, were placed two gilded chairs, for the reception of the King and Queen. Her Majesty being at this time in child-bed, the King alone made his appearance. Many of the State officers were stationed waiting for his arrival, when we entered the theatre. At each side of the entrance to the pit were placed the King's Guards, in pompous theatrical suits of blue cloth, with

polished coats of mail, and enormous helmets surmounted by tall plumes; producing altogether the most grotesque effect, by combining somewhat of the manly chivalrous aspect of the warriors of antient days with the wretched effeminacy and scenic taste of the modern Court. It was enough to rouse the ghost of *Gustavus Vasa*, to view the heroes of *Sweden* in this deplorable disguise; wanting only their cheeks painted, to fit them for a booth at Bartholomew Fair. While we were thus intent upon the motley figures of the soldiers, a bustle in the orchestra, and a general movement among the Guards, announced his Majesty's approach; who entered, followed by the *Duchess of Sudermania*, and several of his retinue, dressed in the absurd and fantastic manner which we have before alluded to, but strictly according to the regular *costume* of his Court; wearing, beneath a cloak, a jacket of yellow silk, and large yellow roses in his shoes: and, as if to afford the most striking contrast possible to his own appearance, and to render it still more ludicrous in the eyes of the spectators, he was followed by a gigantic attendant in complete armour, the enormous plumes of whose helmet, towering aloft, threatened to bury the diminutive and meagre figure of the King. The audience immediately rose,

Evening's Adventures.

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but the utmost silence was observed. His Majesty, advancing towards the regal chair, was for some minutes engaged in bowing to all present; to the audience in general, and to all the foreign Ministers in particular. Then making, with his *chapeau bras*, a signal to the musicians in the orchestra, the band began to play; and he sate down. Between the acts of the opera, he was occupied chiefly in conversation with the Duchess his aunt, and the *Russian* Minister; and his marked attention to the latter was noticed by the generality of those present, who were interested in the politics of the day. Having been accustomed to see him before only in his regimentals, we hardly recognised him in his Court dress. When he sate down, he wrapped his silk cloak about him, thus giving to this part of his attire the appearance of a petticoat, beneath which peeped his coloured shoes set off with large yellow rosettes; so that his whole figure, truly feminine, might have been mistaken for a female. During this evening's entertainment, an adventure occurred which will afford a specimen of the national manners. Two *Italian* gentlemen, with whom we were intimately acquainted—Signor *Acerbi*, author of Travels in *Sweden*, *Lapland*, and *Finland*, and his young companion, Signor *Bellotti*—were seated

in the box of the *Prussian* Minister. These gentlemen, after the close of the first act of the opera, finding that no ladies had arrived to occupy the front seat, ventured, having first asked permission of the Minister to whom the box belonged, to place themselves in the front row, and thereby obtain a better view of the King and of the stage. They were habited in plain black suits, which, as it is well known, are often used abroad, by way of substitute for the full Court dress. It may be imagined what their disquiet was, in finding that they had no sooner seated themselves in their new places, than they were become an object of uneasiness to the royal party stationed in the pit. The Duchess of *Sudermania* was observed to regard them for some time with apparent agitation; and at length, speaking to the King, his Majesty was pleased to order that a corporal of the guard should be sent to remove them from their station. But the Director of the theatre, to whom this order was given, being well acquainted with them, went up, and represented to them his Majesty's disapprobation of their appearance in the front rank, without having on the full Court dress; desiring them, at the same time, not to retire from the theatre, but to sit backward, so as to escape further observa-

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tion from below. Some of the audience, witnessing this transaction, thought proper to insinuate that his Majesty mistook the two *Italian* gentlemen for *Englishmen*—there being at this time a slight misunderstanding between our Court and that of *Sweden*, in consequence of the neglect which it was said his Britannic Majesty had shewn to a Letter written by the *Swedish* Sovereign respecting the capture of a *Swedish* convoy. This circumstance had rendered it difficult for our countrymen to obtain a presentation at the *Swedish* Court; as our Minister had ceased to make his appearance there, and had been omitted in the invitations recently sent to the different foreign Ministers. Whether there were any truth in the supposed intention of the young King and of his aunt, to offer this indignity with any feeling of hostility towards our countrymen, we did not give ourselves the trouble to inquire. The affair served to afford a momentary topic of conversation in the different circles: meanwhile, we experienced everywhere the same kindness and hospitality which we had invariably met with since our first arrival in the country.

Little needs be said of the style of the performance at a *Swedish* opera. The singers and dancers are equally below mediocrity. The

band is generally good, and the music well given. The management also of the scenery, owing to the great pains bestowed upon the most trifling theatrical concerns during the reign of the late King, still reflects credit upon the mechanist who is employed. For our parts, during the whole of this evening's representation, neither the splendours of the Court *gala*, nor the presence of the Sovereign, nor the stage decoration, could abstract our thoughts from dwelling upon the horrible tragedy which was acted here. The assassination of the late king, with all its cruel atrocities, dwelt full upon our minds;—and who could say how soon, or how late, the same sanguinary scene might not be renewed? The young *Gustavus*, seated, in his silken vest, upon the very floor stained with his father's blood, and surrounded by the same courtiers, seemed, from all the circumstances of his situation and character, marked to become another victim of the plots and conspiracies that were going on: and wonderful to us appeared the calm and placid indifference with which the young monarch sate occupied in attention to the turn of an *Italian* Rondo, or busied in enforcing some trivial rule of Court etiquette, upon the identical spot yet almost reeking with the murder of

Reflections on the death of the late monarch.

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his father. — But we had not yet visited RUSSIA!!!

Desmaisons, the celebrated author of an Essay on the Revolutions of *Sweden*, in developing from national character and foreign political interests the true sources of those changes which have successively agitated the *Swedish* dominions, has also unconsciously pointed out the steps which ultimately led to the death of the very Sovereign who accomplished the most remarkable of all the revolutions the country has sustained[1]. Can it be supposed that an event of such immense political importance, reflecting such a distinguished lustre on the character of *Gustavus the Third*[2], and such dismay upon his adversaries, would be speedily forgotten; or that the hatred towards him, increased by the annihilation of the self-interested projects of a party, ever slept, so long as any of that party continued to exist in *Sweden*, and to hold communication upon the subject of the loss they had sustained? It only taught them to be more circumspect in carrying on their designs against the King's life than they had

(1) See "*Histoire de la dernière Révolution de Suède*," par *Jacques Le Scene Desmaisons*. *Amst.* 1782.

(2) *Gustavus the Third* was twenty-five years old when he was proclaimed King, the year before the Revolution of 1772.

hitherto been in executing their former projects. In our long journey through *Sweden*, we often endeavoured to procure accurate information relative to the real authors and abettors of the conspiracy which ended in his assassination by the hand of *Ankarström*; but the circumstances respecting it were either told with the most evident exaggeration, or with an air of studied and stupid mystery, which, bordering upon affectation, prevented further inquiry. From all, however, that we could collect, notwithstanding the difficulty of coming at the truth, it seemed plain that the conspiracy had been going on for a long time before its object was accomplished in the death of the King, and that the inhabitants of the most distant provinces in the realm were engaged in its operation. The only wonder is, that where the number of the disaffected was so numerous, a secret of such moment could so long remain concealed. Some of the *Swedish* gentry maintain that the number of the conspirators exceeded a thousand. Judging only from the facts which have transpired; from the conduct of the enemies of the King, and of suspected persons before and after his death; there is good reason to believe that individuals the most distinguished by their rank, by their relationship to *Gustavus*, and also others

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who pretended to class among the number of his most intimate friends, were implicated in his murder. We could not help thinking, that in the crowded assembly we now beheld, and perhaps among those who were in immediate attendance upon his son, there were persons well qualified to dispel all doubts upon this subject.

Opening of the Sepulchre of *Charles the Twelfth.*

A few days after this *fête* at the Opera House, we went to RIDDERHOLM CHURCH, to see the sepulchre of *Charles the Twelfth,* which had been opened by order of the young King. In the uncertainty which has always prevailed respecting the death of this hero, his remains have more than once before been submitted to examination, with a view of ascertaining, from the appearance of the scull, whether the wound which caused his death were inflicted, or not, by the hand of an assassin. Perhaps it was this curiosity on the part of the Sovereign which caused the tomb to be again violated. We arrived in time to see the coffin, which had been also opened, but was now closed. In removing the principal slab of black marble placed over this coffin, the workmen had broken it near the corner, and masons were repairing it when we came to the spot. The coffin, meanwhile, was exposed to view: it was covered

with crimson velvet, and adorned with gold fringe. We observed that it was still in as perfect preservation as when the burial took place; the fringe being so strong, that we had difficulty in pulling off a few threads to bear away as a memorial. Some of the party present complained of an unpleasant odour coming from this coffin; but we considered it as imaginary, the sepulchre having been some time open, and the coffin carefully closed immediately after the King's visit. *Ridderholm Church* is the regal cœmetery of the Kings of *Sweden*. All the Knights of the order of *Seraphim* are also buried here; and many of the principal families of *Stockholm* have their vaults in this church.

Interruption of the amity subsisting between *England* and *Sweden*.

We waited upon our Minister soon after our return to the Capital, and received from him the intelligence of the unpleasant state of affairs between our country and *Sweden*, which seemed likely to end in a war. This, of course, prevented our appearance at Court; but, in lieu of a presentation to his Majesty, he proposed taking us to the SOCIETY, and introducing us there to the different ambassadors, nobles, and officers of distinction, which constitute its members. This Club is the greatest resource a stranger in this country can possibly enjoy: it is regulated upon the best principles, and kept

Club called *The Society*.

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in the most perfect order. Its meetings are held in one of the grandest edifices in *Stockholm*, fronting the water, and commanding a noble prospect of the principal buildings of the city. Being conducted thither, we entered a suite of magnificent apartments, elegantly furnished, and in all respects remarkable for the neatness and propriety everywhere displayed. One room is appropriated to reading: and here all the principal Gazettes published in *Europe*, together with all sorts of periodical works, *French*, *German*, *Danish*, and *Dutch* Papers, are found lying upon the tables, for general use. There is, moreover, a *secrétaire*, fitted up with all sorts of conveniences for writing. Every evening, all these apartments are lighted up with wax candles. In the reading-room, the most perfect silence prevails; and in a chamber adjoining, there are couches for repose. Beyond this is the ball-room; and farther on are separate rooms for billiards, cards, and for eating. In the ball-room are suspended the printed Rules of the Society, in the *French* and *Swedish* languages. Strangers are permitted to enjoy all the privileges of the club during two months; but if they remain longer in *Stockholm*, they must be presented a second time and become members, or be excluded. Every member subscribes

twelve rix-dollars annually to the fund. The dinners and suppers here are excellent, every thing being cheap and good, and the expense small. A dinner, without wine, costs only sixteen-pence *English;* and, until lately, the price was lower. The servants of the *Society* speak *French, German,* and *Swedish;* and are all clad in the livery of the club. There is, morever, always in waiting, a *Directeur,* or *Maître d'hôtel,* who superintends all minor affairs, attends at and directs the order and serving of the dinners, and collects the payment due from the several guests. The apartments remain open during the whole day. We have seldom enjoyed a more pleasing relaxation, or met with more agreeable company than we found here. Having several friends with whom we used to associate at the *Society*[1], we came daily to this place; and, in fact, there is no place in *Europe* where foreigners engaged in travel will meet with better company, more polished manners, or less restraint. Add to this the luxury of being, for once at least in *Scandinavia,* in an assembly where smoking and spitting are not allowed.

(1) In this number were, the celebrated *Brougham; Acerbi,* the *Lapland* traveller; Mr. now Sir *Charles Stewart;* the Rev. Mr. *Kent,* and Mr. *Jarrett,* whom we had before seen in *Norway;* and Mr. *Bellotti.*

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The most perfect order prevails in all the apartments; every one being at liberty to enter, or retire without form, as he pleases[1]. Some persons belonging to the Court, who were proposed as members, had been rejected in the ballot; at which the King was much displeased, and endeavoured, as it was said, to withdraw the courtiers from their attendance. If this were true, it had not produced the desired effect; for the numbers, instead of being diminished, had lately been considerably increased; the first families in *Stockholm* being the most regular visitants.

As in all large cities, the traveller must expect to meet with less of the characteristic hospitality of the *Swedes* in *Stockholm*, than in other parts of the kingdom[2]; and it is here, in particular, that his reception will a good deal depend upon the relative state of politics with regard to his own country. We found our situation somewhat altered, since our last visit, by the degree of coolness which had sprung up

(1) An establishment of this nature, under the name of "*The United Service Club*," has been lately founded in *London*, which seems to be conducted upon a similar plan.

(2) "Plus on s'approche de la capitale, moins on aperçoit cette respectable bonhomie, qui caractérise généralement le paysan Suédois des provinces." *Promenade en Suède, par De Latochnaye, tom.* I. *p.* 62. *Brunswick*, 1801.

between the Court and our Minister. Neither is there much in the place itself to afford instruction or amusement. Excepting the great square of *Nordermalm*, the streets, though of very considerable length, are neither broad nor handsome. There is no foot pavement; and the shops are everywhere wretched. The houses are lofty, and they are all white-washed. The different families, as in *Italy*, reside upon separate floors, or stories, one above another; the ground-floor being appropriated to shops, and the upper stories to private families. There is, moreover, a resemblance between the customs of the two countries. If a stranger have any business to execute among the tradesmen, and be not careful to set about it before noon, the whole day is lost. At mid-day, every body is at dinner: the merchants have then left their counters, and the shops are shut. Afterwards they are all fast asleep; which at this season of the year is the more inconvenient, because as soon as they awake it is dark. Two hours may be deemed the whole of the time allowed for daily affairs abroad,—from ten in the morning until twelve. Before ten it is not usual for families to make their appearance; and if after this time a traveller remain in his lodgings, engaged as he is very likely to be with his own

Resemblance to *Italian* Customs.

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private affairs, it is in vain that he endeavours afterwards to get any thing done in the town.

One of the first things it is natural to seek for, in arriving at any place upon the Continent, is a bookseller's shop: but the booksellers here have no catalogues; or if any thing of this kind be produced, it is written wholly in the *Swedish* language. And with regard to the dealers themselves, never were persons of their profession so little likely to recommend their wares, as the booksellers of *Stockholm*. If a customer enter, they rise not from their seats to assist him in looking over the dusty lumber of their warehouses: and if they were disposed to shew him this civility, the search would be in vain; because the books, not being bound, but lying in quires, and confusedly mixed together, can only be regarded as so many reams of paper in a stationer's shop.

Booksellers.

When *Englishmen* are invited to dine with the inhabitants, it is a constant practice to prepare a quantity of what is called *roast-beef* for their reception at table: and the opinion which all foreigners have, that we cannot dine without a copious allowance of animal food, especially of beef, is very diverting. The host gathers consequence to himself in having provided this

Public Dinners.

kind of diet, and, smiling at his guests, calls out, in an emphatical tone, '*Rosbif!*' (for so it is generally written and pronounced) as the mangled heap of flesh which bears this name is handed round; not having the smallest resemblance to any thing so called in *England*, but consisting of lumps of meat piled upon a dish, tough, stringy, and covered with grease. Of this if you do not eat heartily, offence is sure to be given. In fact, if an *Englishman* wish to render himself agreeable to the *Swedish* gentry, he ought to prepare himself by fasting for at least two entire days before he visits them. If he do not devour every thing that they set before him, and with a degree of voraciousness proportioned to their good wishes for his making a hearty meal, he will never give satisfaction. We have before alluded to these remarkable traits of the national character: they carry us back, in imagination, to those Gothic festivals, when animals were roasted whole, and the guests were served with heaps of flesh by attendants in complete armour, who carved with their swords: and they serve also to remind us of those fables of the Edda, or antient *Icelandic Mythology*, in which to eat voraciously is described as a qualification, worthy not only of a warrior, but of a

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God[1].—We met with an instance of the dissatisfaction given by the want of this qualification, where we least expected it; namely, in the *Directeur* of the Society. We might have supposed that the less the company devoured at his table, the greater would have been his profit, and of course the higher his gratification. But even here, seeing the Author refuse to partake of a dish which one of the servants brought to him after he had completely dined, the *Directeur* exclaimed, as he retired, in a tone loud enough to be overheard, with true *Swedish* feeling and with a broad oath, "What, you are determined not to touch a morsel! Has it been usual with us to set before you despicable food?"—The instances of offence given in this way were

(1) "Loke then said that his art consisted in eating more than any other man in the world, and that he would challenge any one at that kind of combat.—'It must indeed be owned,' replied the King, 'that you are not wanting in dexterity, if you are able to perform what you promise.' At the same time he ordered one of his courtiers who was sitting on a side-bench, and whose name was Loge (i. e. *Flame*), to come forward, and try his skill with Loke, in the art they were speaking of. Then he caused a great tub or trough full of provisions to be placed on the bar, and the two champions at each end of it; who immediately fell to devour the victuals with so much eagerness, that they presently met in the middle of the trough, and were obliged to desist. But Loke had only eat the flesh of his portion; whereas the other had devoured both flesh and bones. All the company therefore adjudged that Loke was vanquished."—*Edda, or Antient Icelandic Mythology.* See *Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vol.* II. *p.* 90. *Edin.* 1809.

alluded to in a former volume[2]; and the subject would be deemed too trivial for repetition, were it not essential to the due representation of the manners and customs of the inhabitants. The style of a *Scandinavian* dinner we have before described, in our account of *Norway;* for in this respect there is not much difference between the two countries. No person, on any account, is permitted to touch, or offer to his neighbour at table, the contents of the dishes that are placed before him. They are all removed, and brought round to the guests one after another in a regular order; consequently the business of dinner lasts two or three hours,—the longer, the more consistent with a splendid entertainment. Before sitting down, when the company are all stationed in their places at the board, a pause of total silence ensues; and this, after continuing for the space of a minute, is interrupted by a bow from the host, which is the signal for every one to become seated. The mistress of the house is conducted from the drawing-room by the person of the greatest rank present; the rest of the gentlemen each taking a lady, as with us. The ceremony of

(2) See Vol. X. of these Travels, p. 109. Octavo Edit.

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the *whet* before dinner, which is universally practised over all the North of *Europe*, takes place in an adjoining room, a few minutes before dinner is announced: there the company eat *caviare*, turnip-radish, raw turnip or carrot, or a bit of some salted fish, and take a dram of brandy, by way of provoking an appetite; and this they do as heartily as if they were making a meal;—like the inhabitants of some part of *Scotland*, who swallow a hot sea-gull, or kiddy-wake, full of fish-oil, for the same purpose. The master and mistress of a family have no particular place assigned them at their own table, but mix with their guests, and generally sit at one of the sides. This custom, perhaps, is an imitation of *French* manners. When the company rise after dinner, the same pause and silence ensues as before; after which, the bow being again made, the gentlemen salute the hand or cheek of the mistress of the house, and shake hands with the master. These customs and ceremonies are the same everywhere, whether in the mansions of the nobles, or the dwellings of more private individuals.

Interior of the Houses.

The principal article of furniture in every apartment is a stove, which is generally large, and covered with *Dutch* tiles. In the houses of the great, these stoves are sometimes formed

so as to represent the pedestal of a column, and then they often support a statue; or if not so ornamented, they reach to the ceiling of the room. Where the stove and flues are solely formed of iron, and not properly encased with stone, tiles, or stucco, a close disagreeable smell is caused in all the rooms: to obviate this, the inhabitants frequently burn perfumes, or place a scented *pot pourri* upon the stoves. The most insignificant article of their furniture cuts a more imposing figure in *English* houses—where, however, it is never publickly exhibited—namely, the bed; this is generally small, uncomfortable, and more like a mere couch for a drawing-room than for a place of repose at night. In the lodgings of single men it is always seen, as a dirty and unpleasant spectacle; not made up during the first half of the day, and offensive to more than one of the senses during the other. The windows of the rooms, in the best houses, are doubly glazed; and hung with long shreds of coarse gauze, by way of representing what they are not—that is to say, curtains; being about a quarter of a yard wide, and, of course, merely ornamental. The walls are hung with painted canvas, sometimes in imitation of India paper; at others, in panels, after the French taste. The floors are also painted.

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Coffee prohibited.

The prohibition respecting the use of *coffee* was at this time so strictly observed in *Stockholm,* that in genteel families it was never presented: in some of the inns they offered it to strangers in a contraband way. We have seen even the most gay and dissipated of the young *Swedes* refuse to drink it, when invited by a company of foreigners who have had it before them. The use of *tea* had been substituted in its place. This beverage the *Swedes* call *Te-Watn,* or *Tea-Water;* a very appropriate name for the infusion, as *they* prepare it; for, in general, that which they offer under this name is nothing more than warm water served in small tea-cups.

Anecdotes of the King.

Soon after the prohibition respecting coffee had been issued, his Majesty's own *valet de chambre,* a man of tried fidelity and very amiable character, either through some inadvertence on the part of his servants, or a momentary thoughtlessness in himself, having invited a party to visit him at *Dröttningholm,* was known to have violated the prohibition; coffee having been served upon that occasion. The next morning, one of the attendants, from a desire to supersede the valet in his place, and actuated by envy at the confidence reposed in him by his royal master, informed his Majesty of the transaction. The King took no notice of it at the time; but

when his valet came to undress him, he said, "Is it true that you gave coffee to a party which visited you from *Stockholm*, yesterday evening." "It is but too true, sire," said the valet, "and I saw the extent of my transgression in the moment it was committed." "Well," said his Majesty, "go now to the Intendantof the Police, and tell him what you have done, and pay the penalty[1]; and then come back to me."—When the valet returned, and the King found that his orders had been obeyed, he sent for the informer, and thus addressed him: "My valet confesses he has been guilty of violating the prohibition with regard to coffee, as you told me he had done; and he has paid the penalty for so doing. It is therefore only necessary for me to add, that in future I shall have no further occasion for your services."

Another circumstance also occurred, which placed the character of *Gustavus the Fourth* in a very amiable light;—and we can vouch for the truth of both of them.

A *Swedish* Colonel, by an accidental fire which consumed his house, lost the whole of his property. Some time after, a lottery was set on foot by his friends, to reimburse him. In the

(1) One rix-dollar for every cup of coffee used.

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opening of this business, a letter arrived from *Pomerania*, inclosing one hundred and fifty rix-dollars, without the name of any donor, but with a short note, requesting that the Colonel would remember the "*broken punch-bowl.*" It was a long time before he could unravel this mystery; but at last he recollected that, many years before, being in a tavern where there was a great concourse of people and much rejoicing, a female servant dropped from her hands a large China punch-bowl full of punch. Her mistress, in violent anger, threatened her with instant dismissal, and that she should be sent to prison if she did not make good the loss: upon which, the Colonel interceded in behalf of the poor girl, and himself paid for the damage which had been sustained. This curious anecdote becoming the subject of conversation in *Stockholm*, at length reached the ears of the King. *Gustavus* was much pleased with it, and sent a present of one thousand rix-dollars, with this message: "I am aware that the Colonel's friends have instituted a lottery upon his account. It is prohibited, by the laws, to undertake any lottery, without previous permission from the Master of the Police. Tell the Colonel I know that officer; that he is an humane and polite man, not likely to refuse a reasonable request: it is my wish that the Colonel

should ask his permission for the lottery, that I may be enabled to bear a part in it."

We have the more readily inserted these traits in the character of the reigning monarch, because the anecdotes related of him, in general, were neither numerous nor interesting. Having no favourite, and relying altogether upon his own judgment, which however was very incapable of guiding him, it was not easy to penetrate the reserve that shrouded his private life from observation. The few things that had transpired afforded a favourable view of his disposition. From his earliest boyhood he was little disposed to familiarity with any one. When only eight years of age, he attended *Gustavus the Third* to a grand Council. Upon this occasion, stepping before his father as he advanced to the regal chair, and placing himself upon it, he repeated, with affected gravity, a passage from one of the *Swedish* tragedies — "*Let us sit on the throne of our ancestors.*" The King, instead of being pleased with his son's humour, seemed rather piqued; and abruptly handing him down, said, "Come, come, young usurper! there will be a more proper season for these sentiments, when I am gone!"

With regard to other stories circulated in *Stockholm*, respecting either the young Sovereign

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or his fair consort, as it was impossible to give credit to them, so it will not be necessary to relate them. The general tenor of all of them was to represent the King as a haughty, imperious, but benevolent man, destitute of sound judgment and literary talents; without any love of the Fine Arts, but desirous of enforcing strict obedience to the laws, both by precept and example: and the Queen, as a giddy cheerful romp, more disposed towards laughter than serious reflection, who would prefer a game at blind-man's buff to any State ceremony, however splendid the situation she might be called upon to fill.

Probable contents of the Chests at *Upsala*.

We met with a bookseller in *Stockholm* who assured us—and we saw no reason to doubt the truth of what he said—that he had often been employed by the late King, *Gustavus the Third*, as his amanuensis. He declared that he assisted that monarch in arranging and in copying many of the manuscripts now deposited at *Upsala* under such strict injunctions of their being kept secret until the time arrives for opening the chests containing them[1]. He seemed well acquainted with the nature of these manuscripts; and, as his character is highly respectable, and the informa-

(1) See the former Chapter, p. 19.

tion he afforded was given without the least solicitation on our part, it may perhaps be worth attending to. The most important part of these papers, he said, as written by *Gustavus the Third*, contains the History of his own Times; composed with a depth of political knowledge, and most profound reflection, such as might be expected from his uncommon talents and observation. This History, together with the State Papers necessary for its illustration, probably make up the principal part of this mysterious deposit, which has excited so much curiosity.

State of Literature.

The state of literature in *Sweden* has been less promising since the death of *Linnæus* than that of any other country in Europe. In the sciences, however, *Chemistry*, in spite of every obstacle to which it has been opposed, in a country wanting many of the conveniences necessary for its progress, and all the patronage essential to its encouragement, has made rapid advances[2]. The chemical discoveries of the *Swedes*, in all their Universities[3], redound greatly to their honour.

(2) Witness the surprising talents of *Berzelius*; himself a host, filling all *Europe* with admiration of his great abilities, and gratitude for the importance and profundity of his researches. Witness also the discoveries made by his pupil, *Arfvedson*. Not to omit a tribute due to the names of *Ekeberg* of *Upsala*, *Gahn* of *Fahlun*, *Hisinger*, *Hielm* of *Stockholm*, and many others.

(3) The name of the University of *Åbo* would hardly have been known in the rest of *Europe*, but for the chemical discoveries of *Gadolin*.

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Yet the science of *Mineralogy*, connected as it is with *Chemistry*, is hardly anywhere at a lower ebb than in *Sweden:* and *Geology* may be considered as not having yet been introduced into that country; since we cannot bestow the name of *Geology* upon those testimonies of its presence which the *Swedes* sometimes exhibit under the names of *Geological* Cabinets. *Botany*, moreover, seemed to us to be fast declining; as if all its blossoms had drooped and died with its great master. Other branches of knowledge appeared to be involved in the same fate. History, Metaphysics, Laws, Languages, Music, the Belles Lettres, were only known as so many appellations to which there was nothing applicable.

Deplorable condition of the Country.

The Fine Arts, once flourishing in this metropolis, languished for want of encouragement. Add to all this, a gloomy prospect in the State, seeming to foretell the bursting of a storm, which was gathering fast around the throne; public finances annihilated; national credit extinct; taxes accumulating; agriculture neglected; manufactures ruined; insurrections ripe in every quarter; the poor oppressed and murmuring; the liberty of the press banished; projects, the most absurd, bursting, like bubbles, as fast as they were formed—such was, at this moment, the abject and deplorable state of this land of

heroism, honesty, and benevolence. It seemed to every reflecting mind as if *Sweden* awaited one of those tremendous moral revolutions, which, by tearing to atoms the constitution of the country, offers, amidst its ruins, the materials of a more solid structure. The necessity of convoking the Diet was becoming every day more and more apparent; yet the courtiers, twelve or thirteen of whom surrounded the throne, being averse from such a measure, as justly alarmed at the consequences of an inquiry into the state of public affairs, were using all their influence to prevent it, by persuading the King to disregard the agitation which was evidently gathering force in every quarter of his kingdom. Such was the abject state of the paper currency, that Bank-notes were in circulation of the nominal value of eight-pence, *English*; but which were considered as literally worth nothing; no one being willing to take them. The commerce of the country, of course, experienced a lamentable check; and corn, of which the importation annually cost three millions of dollars, became woefully scarce. In this deplorable condition of things, the State candle was burning at both ends. The regulations made to prevent the consumption of coffee and of spirits were wholly ineffectual, and con-

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stantly evaded. There seemed to be no police whatever; nor any assize of bread; the difference of one half prevailing in the price of the same article in different parts of the same town. One hundred rix-dollars had been paid in the course of the last year for a single load of hay; peasants being actually compelled to kill their cattle, or to sell them for almost nothing, or to feed them with the straw from the tops of their houses.

We often met the young King in his walks through the streets: it was a practice in which he frequently indulged; going about in the most private manner, wrapped in a drab great coat, and attended only by a single officer, his Master of the Horse. It was understood to be his wish that he should pass without notice, as it would be troublesome to him to be continually bowing to all who might make their obeisance. But as *Englishmen*, who had experienced in every part of his kingdom the most unbounded hospitality, and were instigated only by a desire to testify the regard we felt for a country of which he was the Sovereign, we could not forego the satisfaction of taking off our hats, whenever he approached; and, notwithstanding what was before urged with regard to his conduct towards our countrymen, it was pleasing to observe that

upon these occasions he always returned our salute in the most gracious manner.

Places of Public Amusement.

The places of Public Amusement in this city are not numerous: the principal are, the OPERA HOUSE, already noticed; the THEATRE, or, as it is here called, *Dramatiska;* and the VAUXHALL, or *Gardens of Promenade.* The building of the *Opera House* took place between the years 1776 and 1782. This edifice is two hundred and ten *Swedish* feet in length, by one hundred and fifty in breadth; and it is fifty-seven feet in height. The front is decorated with columns and pilasters of the *Corinthian* order. It constitutes the chief ornament of the *Nordermalm* Square, being opposite to the Palace of the Princess Royal. The *Theatre* is situate in the Old Arsenal: it was built in 1792, upon the demolition of the *Théatre Française,* which was taken down in the alterations made to lay open the front of the Royal Palace[1]. In this theatre are represented the *Swedish* tragedies, comedies, and farces; the best of which are quite below mediocrity. In comedy, however, the *Swedes* have some excellent actors. We saw one, whose name we do not recollect, but he reminded us forcibly of our

(1) The old *French* Theatre is now changed into a set of ante-rooms belonging to this building.

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own matchless comedian, *John Bannister*, whose talents will never be forgotten, if unaffected simplicity of nature, joined with pathos and energy, be preferable to stage tricks, affectation, and caricatura. This actor was deservedly a great favourite with the *Swedes*, whose stiff and serious features, habitually disposed to gravity, relaxed into continual laughter the whole time he remained upon the stage. *Sweden* is not destitute of eminent theatrical writers; but the principal part of the dramatic works brought forward in this country are translations from the *English* and *French* languages: this is always the case with their farces, if they possess the smallest degree of merit. The utmost order prevails in their theatres during the representations: no person moves from his seat, or enters into conversation with those about him: if the least sound of a voice be heard, except from the stage, a general hissing immediately puts the intruder to silence.

Academies.

Of the Societies instituted in *Stockholm* for the encouragement of Literature, there are five which bear the name of Academies, without including the *Patriotic Society*; viz. The *Academy of Sciences*; that of the *Belles Lettres, History, and Antiquities*; the *Swedish Academy*; the *Academy of Painting and Sculpture*; and the *Royal Academy of Music*.

Among these, the ACADEMY OF SCIENCES holds the highest rank. It was founded in 1739, by several learned patriots, among whom it is sufficient to mention the senator Count *Hoephen*, *Linnæus*, and *Alstroemer*. It has continually increased and prospered since its first establishment; having published more than one hundred volumes of Memoirs, Discourses, Eulogies, and Dissertations, all in the *Swedish* language. It was not until it had attained the summit of its reputation that it was received under the protection of Government; which has since allowed to it great advantages; among others, the exclusive right of publishing and distributing almanacks throughout the kingdom, a privilege from which it derives a revenue annually of two thousand rix-dollars. The sciences which chiefly occupy this Academy are, Natural History, Physic, Anatomy, Chemistry, Astronomy, &c. It has a Library, a Cabinet of Natural History, an Observatory, and a Botanic Garden bequeathed to it by Mr. *Berguis*, the direction of which is entrusted to Mr. *Swartz*. The Cabinet of Natural History is under the inspection of Mr. *Sparrman*, celebrated for his voyages in the *South Seas* with Captain *Cook*, and for his *African* Travels. This Academy has a President and two Secretaries. The President is

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renewed every three months: the two Secretaries are perpetual. The first, Mr. *Melanderhielm*, directs the Academy, and has the Library under his care: he also conducts the foreign correspondence, and publishes the Memoirs. He lives in the Hotel of the Academy, a large and beautiful building in the centre of the town. In the principal chamber is the bust of its founder, Count *Hoepken*. The other secretary is Astronomer to the Academy: he lives in the Observatory, situate north of the town. He is employed in the publication of almanacks. Since the establishment of the *Academy of Sciences*, it has experienced some severe losses in the deaths of Messrs. *Pilas*, *De Geer*, *Wargentin*, *Baech*, *Berguis*, *Scheele*, &c.: but it still possesses Mr. *Acrel*, chief physician; its President, *Rosenadler*, who has bequeathed to it all his *Swedish* books; Admiral *Chapman*; Baron *Alstroemer*; Mr. *Engestroem*; Baron *Hermelin*; Messrs. *Geyer* and *Hjelm*, excellent mineralogists and chemists, the latter of whom first obtained *Molybdenum* in the metallic state; *De Carlson*, *Paykull*, *Oedmann*, &c. Among the members of this Academy, it boasts of many celebrated foreigners:—in FRANCE, *Lalande*, *Expilly*, *Monnet*, *Keralio*, *Le Sage*, *De Morveau*, *Boufflers*, &c.—in SPAIN, *Mutis*;—in ITALY,

Spallanzani, Verri, Morozzo, Fontana, &c.—in GERMANY, *Kästner, Kölpin, Richter, Forster, Möller, Achard, Jacquin, Schreber, Weigel,* &c.—in RUSSIA, *Æpinas, Euler, Rumowski, Pallas, Kourakin, Razumowski, Gallitzin,* &c.—in ENGLAND, *Banks, Pennant, Kirwan,* and *Smith;*—in DENMARK, *Niebuhr, Suhm,* and *Vahl;*—in AMERICA, *Priestley.* The Memoirs of the Academy are translated at *Venice* into *Latin,* with the title *Analecta Transalpina;* and at *Göttingen* in *Germany,* into *French,* by Mr. *Keralio.* The principal part of the Library of this Academy was the gift of the President *Rosenadler.* Among the books are some typographical rarities: a *Swedish* Bible, with wood-cuts, printed at *Upsala* in 1541; the New Testament, in quarto, with wood-cuts, printed at *Stockholm* in 1549; the first New Testament printed in *Sweden,* dated *Stockholm* 1521. Also a rare work (because prohibited), called "The Battles of Duke Charles," or CHARLES IX. That the proceedings of this Academy should be published only in the *Swedish* language may be regretted as a real literary loss; for, as it is observed by a late author who visited this country, "*Si Linnée avoit écrit dans sa langue, il auroit eu, sans doute, autant de mérite; mais, à coup sûr, pas autant de*

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célébrité[1]." SPARMANN added greatly to the Cabinet of this Academy. He classed it according to the system of *Linnæus;* giving to the Academy, at their sittings, his own descriptions of every thing that was new. Notwithstanding these additions, there is not much in this cabinet which can be considered either as worth seeing or describing. We visited it; and were quite struck with its insignificance, and the bad taste shewn in the selection and manner of displaying the specimens. Generally, in the first view one has of a Museum of this kind, merely by casting a glance over it, a tolerable correct notion may be formed of the style and character of the exhibition. Under this impression, we did not expect to be very highly gratified, when we observed, upon entering the apartment, some miserable specimens of common *Coral,* placed in a row upon pedestals of wretched shell-work that would have degraded the China closet of an ignorant old woman. The eye is afterwards caught by a number of glass-cases, containing organic bodies preserved in alcohol, which are, for the most part, reptiles; serpents, lizards, toads, and frogs. Here, among the more re-

(1) Voyage de deux Français, tom. II. p. 74 (Note). *Paris,* 1796.

markable rarities, we were shewn the generative organs of the *Ostrich* and *Rhinoceros;* the *Draco-volans*, not so large as a common *Bat;* the fœtus of a *Hottentot;* specimens of the *Rana typhonia*, and *Rana paradoxa*, from the embryo to the perfect state of the animal; *Lacerta Amboinensis*, considered a great rarity; *Venomous Serpents* of *America*, the *Indies*, and *South Seas*, remarkable for the flatness of their heads; *Flying Fishes* of the *Red Sea;* *Worms*, *Scorpions*, and other insects in great number; bones, teeth, &c. of *Elephants;* and weapons, dresses, and idols of the Islands of *Australasia*. Around the room are ranged specimens of greater magnitude; as, the heads of the *Cape Buffalo;* the *Hippopotamus*, believed to be the *Behemoth* of sacred Scripture; the horns of various animals, some of astonishing size, of the *Rein-deer*, *Elk*, &c.

The Academy of Belles Lettres was much patronized by *Gustavus the Third;* who not only endowed it with a fund for prizes, but also for allowing premiums to several of its members. Its province extends to Foreign Literature and Classical Antiquities. The number of its members is limited to fifty. It was founded in 1753, by Queen *Louisa Ulrica*. Within these few years, it has lost many men of great merit; as, *Dalin*, *Lagerbring*, *D'Ihre*, *Potberg*, and *De Berch*.

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Its secretary is Mr. *Tileman*, Royal Antiquarian. This Academy has published several volumes of Memoirs, in *Swedish*. It possesses a beautiful collection of medals.

The third, the SWEDISH ACADEMY, or the *Academy of Eighteen*, is so called from the number of its members. It was instituted for the cultivation of the *Swedish* language, by *Gustavus the Third*, in 1786. Its particular aim is to cultivate, to purify, and to enrich the *Swedish* language. It composes the eulogies of Kings, noblemen, and private men who have been celebrated. It has published many volumes, on these and other subjects. *Gustavus the Third* neglected nothing that might conduce to its welfare. Since the year 1792, it has enjoyed the exclusive privilege of publishing the *Swedish Gazette*. Its secretary is Mr. *Rosenstein*, late preceptor of *Gustavus the Fourth*. It is usual, upon the death of one of its members, to deliver a funeral oration, illustrating his merits, enumerating his writings, and pronouncing his eulogium. This ceremony is always attended by the Academicians in their full dress, by the members of the Royal Family, the Nobles and Gentry of *Stockholm*, and Foreigners admitted with tickets distributed by the members of the Academy. We were present upon one of these

occasions, *Saturday, November* 23, when the sitting was attended with a great degree of grandeur. It was upon the death of Mr. *Stenhammar*. We arrived in the evening, and found the chamber of the Academy illuminated by a profusion of candles suspended in heavy chandeliers of cut glass. Upon the right-hand, as we entered, in boxes affixed to the wall, sate the King and his Court; his Majesty, with the male part of his suite of attendants, being in one of the boxes; and the Duchess of *Sudermania*, with her maids of honour, in the other. The seats on the opposite side were filled with Noblemen, Ambassadors, Peeresses, and Foreigners of distinction. In the middle of the assembly, and below the King's box, was a long table, at which were placed the members of the Academy. The rest of the apartment was crowded by military officers and the sons of the principal families of *Stockholm*, all in full dress or in uniform. The business of the sitting opened with a Congratulatory Poem addressed to the King, by Mr. *Leopold*, the most celebrated of the *Swedish* Poets, upon the birth of the young Prince; containing, as may be easily supposed, little more than the most extravagant adulation, disposed into metre and rhyme. After this had been read, a new member, Count *Fleming*, was

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introduced, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of *Stenhammar*, and to pronounce the funeral oration[1]. This was read by the Count, from a manuscript, in the *Swedish* language, written in a terse and elegant style, with great uniformity of diction, but highly polished; and it gave general satisfaction. The reading lasted a considerable time. When it was over, his Majesty advanced towards the Duchess of *Sudermania*, and kissed her before all the company present; a ceremony which, as was before remarked, very generally attends the breaking up of assemblies in *Sweden*.

The ACADEMY OF PAINTING AND SCULPTURE was founded in 1735, by Count *Tessin*. It was particularly protected by *Gustavus the Third*, who, in 1783, enlarged and perfected the plan of its establishment by new regulations. It publishes every year an exposition of its works, and distributes prizes among its pupils. Of this Academy, Mr. *Fredenheim* is President, and

(1) *Acerbi* has mentioned a *Swedish bon-mot*, upon the occasion of Count *Fleming's* being introduced as the new member of the *Academy of Eighteen*; which will shew the natural sprightliness and wit of the *Swedes*, notwithstanding the character of gravity often imputed to them. When the Count took his seat among the Academicians, a wag observed that their number now amounted exactly to 170. 'How so?' it was asked. 'Because,' replied he, 'when a cipher is added to the number seventeen, the amount is 170.'—See *Acerbi's Travels*, vol. I. p. 170. *Lond.* 1802.

Mr. *Pasch* Director; the first, Intendant of the King's Buildings; the second, Keeper of the King's Pictures. Among its members, it boasts of the celebrated *Sergell*, one of the greatest sculptors in *Europe*. The other most distinguished members of this Academy are, Mr. *Breda*, the portrait-painter; Mr. *Templeman*, the Secretary, and Architect to the King; Mr. *Masrelier*, Painter to the King; the famous *Despres*, scene-painter, &c.; the two *Martins*, one a landscape painter, the other an engraver and painter in water-colours. It has lost Mr. *Gillberg*, who produced the medals which compose the medallic history of *Gustavus the Third.*

The Royal Academy of Music was founded in 1772, by *Gustavus the Third.* The Opera is annexed to its establishment. It has produced works of great merit, in poetry, music, and scenery: for example, the famous opera of *Gustavus Vasa*, which was brought out with unequalled splendour and perfection. The music of its pieces is principally composed by *Uttini*, an *Italian;* and by *Vogler* and *Kraus*, who are *Germans.*

The Patriotic Society began to assemble in 1767, and is numerous as to its members. It is chiefly occupied in the science of *Economy*, as applied to the kingdom: it publishes annually

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works upon this subject. Its principal secretary is Mr. *Modur,* who may be considered as its founder. This society is truly useful to the *Swedish* nation.

On Saturday, *December* 7th, the King left *Stockholm,* for *Upsala,* in consequence of a petition he received, as Chancellor of the University, from the Students, remonstrating against the conduct of the *Rector Magnificus,* and demanding a legal inquiry into the propriety of the measures he had thought proper to pursue. These young men had celebrated *Buonaparte*'s return to *Paris*[1]; and exhibited an ideot, in solemn procession, dressed and decorated with the uniform, orders, and insignia of *Suwarof.* The principal magistrate of the University had therefore assembled the students, and publickly reproved them for their conduct. In consequence of this disgrace, which they conceived they had not merited, the appeal had been made to the King. Upon receiving this petition, his Majesty immediately repaired to *Upsala;* and having satisfied himself of the irregular behaviour of a parcel of unruly boys, made it known to the members of the University that he did not deem them any

Riots at *Upsala.*

(1) After landing at *Frejus,* from his *Egyptian* expedition.

longer worthy either of his patronage or protection, and accordingly resigned the Chancellorship. This was one of those measures, for which, having acted from the impulse of his own heart, and consulting the advice of no one able to guide him, he was universally blamed in *Stockholm:* it was said, that it might tend to the ruin of the University. To an impartial bystander, the King's only error seemed to be in having at all noticed an application of so puerile a nature, and one that he might so easily have dismissed, by referring the whole affair to the resident magistrate. But so determined was he to adopt his own judgment in all things, that if any of his Ministers had the reputation of influencing his actions, it was made a sufficient ground for their immediate dismissal.

Royal Palace.

We availed ourselves of his absence, upon this occasion, to pay a visit to the ROYAL PALACE; strangers not being admitted, during his residence, into the State apartments. This magnificent structure is one of the finest modern edifices of the kind in *Europe.* It is not so spacious as the Royal Palace of *Copenhagen,* but it has a grander aspect, being upon an eminence which commands all parts of the city. It is of a square form, built four stories high, of brickwork, faced with stucco after the *Italian* manner,

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and adorned with *Grecian* pillars and pilasters. The interior court measures about eighty-seven paces by seventy-five. A marble staircase leads to the Chapel, which is surrounded by a gallery, and beautifully decorated. Opposite the Chapel is the Council-chamber, in which we saw two fine portraits by an unknown artist; one of *Gustavus Vasa*, executed in black drapery; and another of *Gustavus Adolphus*. These are whole lengths; but they have been stretched upon new canvas since they were originally painted, by which means the back-ground has in each instance been enlarged, and the original design of the painter extended with marvellous success; the harmony and due effect not being at all violated, which is very unusual in such cases. The State apartments consist of a suite of chambers, the first of which, of a square form, is ornamented with gilded columns. Here there are two statues as large as life, by the famous *Sergell*, who was at this time resident in *Stockholm*, afflicted, as it was said, with an incurable melancholy: the one is a statue of *Apollo*, the other of *Venus*; the head of the latter being a portrait of the Countess *Hoepken*[1]. Passing on,

(1) Voyage de Deux Francais, tom. II. p. 54.

we entered another grand chamber, furnished with rich *French* velvet; in which were six marble busts, also by *Sergell*, representing the Family of *Gustavus the Third*. After this occurred a small Cabinet, serving as a kind of vestibule to the Picture Gallery, containing an antique marble bason, supported by a tripod of lion's feet, and three antient marble statues—*Juno*, *Pescennius Niger*, and *A Youth with a Swan* holding in its beak a serpent. The Picture Gallery contains some fine pieces; but in the examination of this collection, we thought that the number of copies exceeded the original pictures, in the proportion of ten to one. It was principally formed by *Gustavus the Third*, during his travels in *Italy*; and any one who has resided in that country will figure to himself the traffic that would be going on when a young Prince, passionately fond of the arts, and liberal in his disposition, arrived among the *Ciceroni* and dealers at *Rome*. It is not wonderful that he should have brought away with him more trash than most of our *English* nobility journeying as amateurs. In viewing this collection, it was easy to recognise the decisive marks of a system of imposition, and some articles of manufacture, which have continued for many years to exercise the ingenuity of the *Italian* artists, and to dupe the

Picture Gallery.

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credulous foreigners by whom they are visited.—In this gallery is a picture of *The Death of Adonis,* attributed to *Vandyke,* which is assuredly a copy[1]. Others said to be by *Bassano,* which are also copies. One attributed to *Leander da Ponte,* seemed to be really by that master. A picture of *Sigismund, king of Sweden and Poland, on horseback, with a dog,* in the manner of *Vandyke,* is shewn as a picture painted by *Rubens, Vandyke,* and *Sneyders:* it was bought at a common post-house, for a single ducat. Of this picture it is usually said, that the figure of *Sigismund* is by *Vandyke,* the *horse* by *Rubens,* and the *dog* by *Sneyders.* Here are many pleasing and highly-finished *Flemish* pictures; and among others, some of *Wouvermans:* also a masterly picture by *Rembrandt,* of A *Philosopher reading.* A *Butcher cutting up an ox;* said to be by *Teniers;* doubtful. The *Family of Rubens,* by *Vandyke.* Besides these, are works attributed to *Poussin, Berghem, Holbein, Titian, Lanfranc,* and *Simon da Pesaro,* which it would be tedious to enumerate. In the same gallery, moreover, are thirteen antique marble statues, some of which may justly rank among the finest reliques of antient

(1) The Authors of the Voyage de Deux Français ascribe this picture to *Le Moine.* See tom. II. p. 55.

art. In other parts of this stately palace are many other pictures and statues: among the latter, a small statue of *A cumbent Fawn*, one of the finest works of *Sergell*. We were conducted from this Gallery to the private apartments of the King, and much interested in viewing the elegant suite of small rooms in which *Gustavus the Third* exercised a taste of which he was vain, in shewing how much it was possible to contrive within a narrow compass. This was what he used to call his *Multum in parvo*. Master of a palace vast enough to accommodate all the Sovereigns in Europe, he would creep into closets, in order to convince his friends how snug, convenient, and withal how elegant, a room might be made, in which the head of a tall man would touch the ceiling, and his arms, when extended, the side walls. It was with this view he used to retire to his little chambers in the Opera House, where he would frequently lodge; quitting a palace like *Hadrian*'s Villa, to dwell in *Diogenes*' tub. At the end of a series of such small cabinets which were once occupied by him in this palace, we were shewn an elegant *boudoir*, or closet for writing; the table being raised, and adapted to a rich couch surrounding the apartment. The doors of all the rooms leading to this *boudoir* being placed in a

Private Cabinet of *Gustavus the Third*.

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straight line, and glazed, enabled the King, as he sat, to view the whole extent of these chambers, and the persons of all who might be in them, even when the doors were shut.

IGNEOUS BASALT, *from the bottom of a Copper Furnace in Siberia.*
The original Specimen in the possession of the King of *Sweden.*

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STOCKHOLM.

Public Women — Mildness of the Season — Vauxhall — *Watchmen — Balls of the* Society — *Manners of the Inhabitants — Public Executions — Artists — Royal Palaces — Views of* Stockholm — *Description of* Drottningholm — *Lake* Mœlar — *Sudden Change induced by the coming of Winter — Frozen Game — Population — State*

State of Trade—Boot and Shoe Market—Cabinet of Models—College of Mines—Igneous Basalt—Apparel worn by Charles the Twelfth *when he was assassinated—Cast of that King's face after death—Royal Library*—Codex Aureus—Codex Giganteus—*Curious Manuscript Code of Medicine—Typographical Rarities—Collection of Original Designs—Royal Museum—Observations on the Literature of* Sweden—*Literary Productions—Establishments*—Gymnasia—*Committee for Public Education—Chirurgical and Medical Colleges—Remarks on the* Swedish *Poetry—List of Poetical Works—Operas—Dramas—Comedies—Works in the higher order of Literature.*

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Public Women.

THE streets of *Stockholm* are not paved for foot-passengers; neither do they swarm with prostitutes, like the public streets of *London*. Women of this description are, however, not the less numerous here, for being less public in their appearance.

Mildness of the Season.

During the month of *November* we were surprised at the mildness of the temperature; the thermometer of *Fahrenheit*, towards the latter end of the month, varying from 40 to 44 degrees, when we had expected that we should have been going about in sledges upon the snow.

Vauxhall.

We went to what are called the *Vauxhall Gardens*, upon *Sunday, November* 17, after visiting the *Theatre*, which we found more than usually dull. These gardens have but little resemblance to those in *England*, whence

their name has been borrowed: a few rows of trees, and a narrow room for walking or dancing, about eighty yards in length, make up the whole. This room is lighted by lustres of cut glass. In a gallery upon the left was a band of musicians, who played during the evening, from six to ten, when a trumpet sounded for the company to disperse. The principal part of the persons present were women of the class before mentioned: the company, consequently, with the exception of several officers of the army, being of the lower orders.

Watchmen.

We were a good deal amused by the grotesque appearance of the watchmen, in the streets at night. Their dress consists entirely of the skins of animals; and they walk in pairs, carrying in their hands a curious instrument for seizing culprits who may endeavour to make their escape from them. It is so contrived as to shut fast about the neck, being applied below the back part of the head; and becoming tighter, the more a person struggles to get free. When once, therefore, this instrument is fixed, the prisoner is sure to remain quiet, through fear of being choked: afterwards, it opens with a spring. Perhaps this portable trap, or thief-collar, might be made useful in our own country, to aid the apprehension of midnight robbers by

CHAP. III.

the police of our metropolis: and we are quite sure, that it is more wanted in *London* than in *Stockholm*, where all the watchmen have to do, is, to carry about their rattle-spikes, with these instruments, calling the hour in the same dismal ditty which is heard all over *Sweden*[1]—

Klockan är tie slagen!—
Fran eld, och brand,
Och fienden's hand,
Bevara, O Gud! den stad och land!—
Klockan är tie slagen!

Balls of the *Society*.

As a contrast to the scene exhibited by their *Vauxhall*—where, however, there is nothing of rudeness or disorder—a stranger finds in the balls of the *Society* the utmost degree of elegance and the most polished manners. We accompanied Baron *Oxenstierna*, with Messrs. *Acerbi* and *Bellotti*, and our friends Messrs. *Kent* and *Jarrett*, to one of those balls. The preceding day, *November* 25, had been a great day at Court, and most of the principal personages

(1) The author finds this preserved in the *MS. Journal* of his friend Dr. *Fiott Lee*. It is thus, when literally translated:

The clock has struck ten!—
From fire, and burning (*fire-brand*),
And from the enemies' hand,
Save, O God! this town and land!—
The clock has struck ten!

were present upon this occasion. We were much struck with the magnificence of the assembly. The dancing began with quadrilles; after which the company joined in what they called the *long* dance; that is to say, one of our *English* country-dances: the whole was then concluded with a waltz, when they all adjourned to the supper-rooms. There were three rooms for supper; two ball-rooms; and two other apartments for cards—a very favourite amusement with all the *Swedes*. This entertainment lasted until near five o'clock in the following morning.

From all that we had seen of *Sweden*, we found much more to admire than to disapprove, and very little to censure: the generality of *Englishmen* visiting the country will probably coincide in this opinion. The more we became acquainted with the inhabitants, the better we were pleased with them. There are few places where the traveller will find a greater facility of intimate intercourse with the different families than in *Stockholm:* for although the hospitality he may experience be not of that unbounded nature which distinguishes the natives at a distance from the capital, it is on this account less oppressive, and more according to the rules of refinement. The time of paying and receiving

Manners of the Inhabitants.

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visits is in the evening: it begins about five o'clock. Having been once introduced, no invitation is afterwards necessary. As no visits are made in a morning, every one makes his appearance dressed for the evening parties. They occur in several houses, at each of which it is usual to stay half or three quarters of an hour. At these parties the amusements are, music, singing, cards, and dancing. The conversation is always lively, and generally remarkable for the good humour and mirth which is excited.

Public Executions.

Public executions, always rare in the provinces, are not common in the capital. During our residence in *Stockholm*, an event of this kind took place. Two malefactors, condemned for forging the paper-money, were hanged. The concourse of people, to see these men executed, exceeded any we had ever observed elsewhere, upon a similar occasion. For some hours before the sentence of the law was enforced, the streets of the city leading to the place of execution were full of passengers, moving towards the spot. This is situate in a forest, about three *English* miles from *Stockholm*. The lower part of the gibbet was surrounded by a circular wall, concealing the executioners from view, and leaving only the top of the gallows visible. About nine o'clock in the morning the two

culprits were conducted from their prison to this place. The rocks and hills around were covered with spectators, and the throng in the road was so great that carriages could not approach. The two malefactors, after being allowed to halt (as is usual in such cases) at a small cabaret, to drink a glass of wine, were brought to the outside of the circular wall at the foot of the gibbet. Two ropes appeared above this wall, hanging from the beam. At the door which opened into the interior area, the secretary of the police read to the two criminals the sentence which had been pronounced against them; after which they were ushered in. About five minutes had elapsed, after their entrance, when the ropes began to be in motion. The executioner at the same time made his appearance, having ascended a ladder placed against the beam of the gibbet. Immediately one of the criminals was drawn up by a rope fastened round his waist, and exposed to view, with his hands bound behind him, his eyes covered, and his head and legs hanging down. A short rope was fastened to his neck, with a loop, which the executioner attached to an iron hook in the beam; and then, letting go the rope by which he had been drawn up, and placing his foot upon the criminal's head, his neck was instantly

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broken. The other malefactor suffered in the same way.

These unfortunate men were remarkably well dressed, and seemed to have paid an attention to their persons which is very remarkable at such an awful moment. One of them had served as a serjeant in the provincial cavalry, of which the Duke of *Sudermania* was colonel. His melancholy fate seemed to interest and affect the spectators, many of whom were in tears. As he was drawn up, his voice was heard uttering, several times, these words:—

"Gud bevara min själ! min själ!"

"*God save my soul! my soul!*"

We remained in *Stockholm* during a considerable part of the months of *November* and *December*, having no reason to complain either of the climate or of the inhabitants. Indeed, when we considered the latitude of the place, it seemed as if winter had postponed its annual visit.

Artists.

In a former volume we mentioned some of the artists of this city. Towards the end of *November* we were occupied in renewing our visits to them, and also in inspecting the works of others. A painter, Mr. *Breda*, late pupil of Sir *Joshua Reynolds*, was engaged in painting a whole-length portrait of the King, who sate to

him every day. This portrait was a very fine one, and a striking likeness of his Majesty. Mr. *Breda* had a valuable cabinet of pictures of the old Masters, which had been formed by his father. At an engraver's of the name of *Martin*, brother of the landscape-painter of that name, whom we before mentioned, we procured many views of the mines and of the city, some of which have been engraved for this work. We visited that eccentric genius, *Després*, a painter brought from *Italy* by the late King; and saw several fine pictures, the works of his hand. Being admitted into the workshop of the celebrated *Sergell*, we saw the colossal bronze statue of *Gustavus the Third*, ordered by the citizens of *Stockholm*, for a pedestal of polished porphyry, which was already placed upon the Quay, a little to the east of the Palace. *Sergell* is considered as second only to *Canova*, in the art of sculpture. This bronze statue represents the King as a pedestrian figure, dressed in a long mantle, in the act of haranguing his troops. It is eleven feet high. The right-hand is raised and extended, holding an olive-branch. The modelling cost 10,000 rix-dollars; the casting and metal, 20,000. We saw a valuable collection of designs, books, and casts, at the house

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of *Masrelier*, whose own drawings are deservedly in high estimation. Upon the 28th of *November* we were invited by Baron *Oxenstierna* to a dinner, at which we met all our *English* friends. In the evening, Signor *Acerbi*, who was present, amused the company by the exhibition of his musical talents; performing upon the harpsichord a great variety of national airs, to which, with surprising facility, he adapted the most skilful and pleasing variations.

Royal Palaces.

Upon *Friday* the 6th of *December*, we set out to visit *Dröttningholm*, one of the royal palaces in the neighbourhood. The name of this place, when translated, signifies *The Queen's Island:* it is situate in an island upon the borders of the Lake *Mœlar*, about six *English* miles from *Stockholm*. As a place of summer residence, nothing can be more delightful. There are two other palaces belonging to the King in the environs—*Gripsholm* and *Stromsholm;* but this by far exceeds the others in beauty, and has generally been preferred by the Royal Family.

Views of *Stockholm*.

The view of *Stockholm* from the bridge, in going to *Dröttningholm*, is the best: and if external appearance alone were to be relied on, this might be deemed the most magnificent city in the world. But the effect produced is not to be described

in words: the aid of the painter is here wanted[1]. White edifices, consisting of public and private palaces, churches, and other buildings, rising from an expanse of waters, produce an effect of incomparable grandeur. The approach to *Drött-ningholm* is by a floating-bridge, seven hundred feet in length. This bridge, they say, was finished in twenty-two days; and cost five thousand rix-dollars: it is constructed entirely of wood. The palace is a handsome stuccoed building, roofed with copper, with side wings; and has at either extremity a pavilion, surmounted by a dome, one of which is the chapel. The length of the whole building seemed to be about forty yards. We went first into the chapel, which is small, and perfectly simple. Then we took a walk round the gardens, which we found barbarously laid out, in the old style, with shorn trees and clipped hedges. We were conducted to a Theatre formed in this wretched

Description of *Dröttningholm*.

(1) There cannot be a better subject for a *Panorama* than a View of *Stockholm*, connected as the different objects are with many interesting events in History. If the ingenious artist, to whom the public has been indebted for so many excellent pictures of this kind, should pursue the hint here suggested, he will probably select, for his point of view, the little hill upon which the *Observatory* stands, or else the tower of *St. Catherine's Church*; whence the eye commands, not only the whole of this remarkable city, intersected with all its bays, creeks, and harbours, but also the numerous little islands, with all the principal squares, streets, palaces, churches, and country-seats.

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taste, by means of avenues. We soon saw enough to convince us that nature had done every thing for *Dröttningholm,* and man worse than nothing. In the reign of *Gustavus the Third* this place partook largely of the splendour that characterized his reign: the sum of money expended in its decorations was enormous. Its interior exhibits a very different aspect now, from its appearance then. The Library and some of the rooms are worth seeing; but, upon the whole, there was nothing to detain us long. A noble statue of *Neptune,* in bronze, upon the border of the lake and in front of the Palace, has been disposed so as to produce a very striking effect. It is a common thing to decry works of this kind, as they are generally seen in public gardens—leaden *Mercuries,* spouting dolphins, and dancing *Cupids;* but the appearance of this fine statue, extending its arm over waters connected with the ocean, and exhibiting a masterly style of sculpture, is truly majestic. All the bronze figures exhibited here were taken at *Prague,* in the Thirty-years' war. Upon a vase may be observed the cipher of *Ferdinand the Second.* These works are, for the most part, in the style of the *Florentine* School, in which the *German* artists used at that time to study. We now returned to the Palace itself, and were con-

ducted to the *Library*. Upon the tables we saw a number of small specimens of sculpture, executed at *Florence*, in gypsous alabaster. Here are also a number of those beautiful *terra-cottas* commonly called *Etruscan* vases; some of these were of great value: and a collection of medals of the highest price, containing those of antient *Greece* and *Rome*; together with a regular series of every thing rare and remarkable in the *Swedish* coinage. This collection is contained in eight cabinets. Besides a well-chosen collection of books, there are, in this library, *Flemish*, *Dutch*, and *Italian* paintings; and models, in cork, of the antiquities of *Italy*. There is, moreover, a curious Cabinet of Natural History, which belonged to the late Queen, and was described by *Linnæus*. Here we saw, among many other curious animals preserved in alcohol, the embryo of an elephant; together with apes, birds, amphibious animals, fishes, insects, and shells, many of the greatest rarity and beauty. There are few things in this palace more worth a stranger's notice than a View of *Stockholm* by *Martin*, one of the best works of that artist. The Audience-chamber is filled with allegorical pictures, alluding to the history of *Sweden*, principally in the time of *Charles the Eleventh*, painted by *Ehrenstrale*. The Gallery contains a series

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of large pictures, representing the battles of *Charles the Tenth.* The grand staircase is ornamented with marble statues, all of which are modern. We saw, above stairs, a most excellent portrait of *Charles the Twelfth;* and some good pictures of his most celebrated Generals, by *Raft.* Opposite the palace is the Theatre; and there are several adjoining houses, for the members of the Court in attendance upon the Royal Family.

Lake *Mœlar.*

The Lake *Mœlar,* with its irregular shores and numerous islands, has all the variety and beauty that rocks, woods, and verdant spots without great height can give; and the views towards *Stockholm,* especially if seen from the water, are singularly pleasing. The immediate boundaries of the water are generally rocks of *gneiss,* and the shores consequently bold and denuded. The trees are chiefly firs; but birch, alder, and oak, are not unfrequent. The approach to *Stockholm* was described in a former Volume, both from our own testimony, and also from the *MS. Journal* of the late Rev. *E. V. Blomfield*[1], as affording no idea of the entrance to a great capital: but if it be approached from the side of *Dröttningholm,* or from the *Glass-works,* no city

(1) See Vol. IX. p. 185. of these Travels.

in *Europe* can pretend to vie with it:—it seems a Cyclopéan heap of the most noble structures; palaces and churches all piled one above another; and the whole floating, as it were, upon the broad bosom of the deep. This magnificent scene is further enlivened and rendered more enchanting by the appearance of vessels of all sizes; some sailing, others riding at their anchorage amidst the rocks and groves, or beneath the very windows of those lofty buildings. Nor does this prospect become less delightful when the lake and the sea is frozen; because then they are covered by sledges of all kinds, and exhibit one of the gayest scenes imaginable. The coming of winter opens for the *Swedes*, as among the *Norwegians*, the heyday of the year. When the snow has fallen, every body is in motion, and the most lively intercourse prevails: business seems to awake as from a slumber, and all is cheerfulness and industry. The return of this winterly festival was first announced to us by a custom which reminded us of good old times in *England:* parties of boys, attended by bands of music, came to sing carols at our door. This began with the month of *December*. *Fahrenheit*'s thermometer was at 28° upon the *second* day of the month; but it was not until the 8th that the mercury remained steadily below the freezing

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point. After the 12th, however, it was observed every day to fall gradually lower: the air was then clear and dry, and we felt none of that chilliness which arises from a damp atmosphere when freezing is about to take place.

Frozen Game.

As soon as the frost had fairly set in, Game of all sorts became abundant, and was seen upon stalls in the principal streets. This being frozen, the poulterers are under no apprehension of its becoming stale. The heaps of curious birds, in their beautiful plumage, afforded to us a very interesting sight. As the frost had commenced earlier in the more northern districts, a short time only elapsed before we saw immense sledges arrive, bringing every species of wild-fowl, and from the most distant provinces, piled in heaps, like so many stones. We sent the skins of many of them to *England:* and a visit to the Game-stalls, as to a cabinet of natural history, became to us a pleasing amusement. The prices in the beginning of *December*, for Game and other articles, were as follow:

A Cock of the Wood *(Tetrao Urogallus)* - - 1½ dollar.
Grouse - - - - - - - - - - the brace 1½ ditto.
A bird called *Hjarpe (Tetrao Bonasia)* - - - 1*s.* 8*d. Eng.*
The beautiful *Snow-Riupa (Tetrao Lagopus)* each 2*s.* ditto.
Turkeys - - - - - - - - - - - each 4 rixdollars.
A Goose - - - - - - - - - - - - - 2 ditto.
Hares - - - - - - - - - - - - each 1*s.* 4*d. Eng.*
Pullets - - - - - - - - - - - - each 2*s.* 8*d.* ditto.

Other wild-fowl, &c. were in proportion. These prices appeared to us to be very high, considering the abundance of Game everywhere displayed; and it was expected they would not be lowered during the present month. The inns in *Stockholm* are very dear, and very bad. The best plan is, to hire lodgings; but for these, if tolerably neat, a traveller will have to pay two dollars a day; besides one dollar a day for fuel, which till lately was never made an article of charge. For breakfast of tea and bread and butter, the price is half-a-dollar each person; and two dollars a head are demanded for the most common dinner, not including wine.

In reading a list of all the tradesmen and artificers in *Stockholm*, a stranger might hastily conclude that a greal deal of business and many manufactures were going on. The same opinion might be formed by visiting the *Exchange*, situate in the great market-place, south of the Palace, between one and two o'clock. Here the throng is so great, that it is difficult to force a way through the crowd. The number of inhabitants in the whole city is estimated at something less than the population of the city of *Bristol:* it amounts to 72,652[1]. In this number there were,

Population.

(1) See also *Thomson*'s Travels in *Sweden*, p. 94. *Lond.* 1813.

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State of Trade.

at this time, thirty-six wig-makers, and only one cutler! forty-seven vintners, and not a single chimney-sweeper! nineteen coffee-roasters, although coffee had been prohibited! and only nine copper-smiths! seventy goldsmiths and jewellers, and only four braziers! one hundred and thirteen keepers of ordinaries, and only one tool-grinder! We could find nothing good that had been manufactured in the country, excepting *iron*, *tar*, and *gloves*. The gloves of *Scania* are the best in the world; but all other articles were of inferior quality, unless they had been imported from *England*, in which case they were considered as contraband, and were sold at immense prices, and in a clandestine manner. The glass-works were all bad: the same may be said of all the works of joiners and cabinet-makers; cloth, leather, &c. &c.: yet one of the most singular sights in *Stockholm* is the boot and shoe market: this is a building near the Palace, to which there is an ascent by a flight of stairs, where ready-made boots and shoes are sold very cheap; and were it not for the inferiority of the leather, and the negligence shewn in the work, boots are nowhere better made. The astonishing quantity exposed for sale in this market is really worth a visit to the place: it is a kind of gallery, filled with stalls, and attended by

Boot and Shoe Market.

women. With regard to other articles of trade, the inferiority of the *Swedish* workmanship, and in many instances the total want of the article itself, is very striking. A whole day may be lost in inquiring for the most common necessaries. Of all things for which a traveller may have need, we thought that furs might be obtained here in the greatest perfection, and at the most reasonable prices; but even this branch of trade seemed to be almost a monopoly in the hands of the *English*. The best furs were all imported from *England*, and came, as it was said, originally from *America;* consequently the prices were very high, and the articles rare. All optical instruments were the wares of those vagrant *Italians* from the *Milanese* territory, whom we have before described as wandering with the proofs of their industry and ingenuity in every part of *Europe*.

It is difficult to reconcile this want of manufactures with the inventive genius shewn by the *Swedes* in one of the most pleasing of the public exhibitions of their capital—that of the *Cabinet of Models*. This cabinet is preserved in an antient palace, where the courts of justice are now held, near *Riddarholm* Church. As a repository of the models of all kinds of mechanical contrivances, it is the most complete collection that

Cabinet of Models.

CHAP. III.

is known. We went several times to view it; and would gladly have brought to *England* specimens of the many useful inventions there shewn[1]. In this chamber, it is not only the number of the models that strikes the spectator, but their great beauty and the exquisite perfection of the workmanship, added to the neatness with which they are arranged and displayed. Every thing necessary to illustrate the art of agriculture in *Sweden* may be here studied;—models of all the ploughs used in all the provinces from *Smoland* to *Lapland;* machines for chopping straw, for cutting turf to cover houses, for sawing timber, for tearing up the roots of trees in the forests, and for draining land; stoves for warming apartments, and for drying all sorts of fruit; machines for threshing corn; corn-racks; windmills; pumps; all sorts of mining apparatus; fishing-tackle; nets; fire-ladders; beds and chairs for the sick; in short, models of almost every mechanical aid requisite for the comforts and necessaries of life, within doors or without. There can be no doubt but that patents would be required for some of them, if they were known in *England:* and possibly patents may have been

(1) Mr. *Cripps* succeeded in purchasing copies of some of them; such as, a machine upon an improved plan for dencheering land; and models of some of the *Swedish* stoves for heating apartments.

granted for inventions that were borrowed from the models in this chamber. Among them are models for light-houses, telegraphs, and other methods of making signals. CHAP. III.

Upon this our second visit to *Stockholm*, we again examined the collection of minerals belonging to the Crown; and were much indebted to the celebrated chemist *Hjelm*, for the readiness he always shewed to gratify our curiosity; allowing us to inspect all the produce of the *Swedish* mines. The refractory nature of some of the richest *iron* ores of this country and of *Lapland* is owing to the presence of several remarkable extraneous bodies; among which may be mentioned *titanium*, *zircon*, and *phosphate of lime*[2]. We had made a large collection of these ores, and the nature of them is now well ascertained. In the account we gave of our first visit to this collection, a specimen was slightly alluded to, exhibiting a remarkable prismatic configuration, taken from the bottom of a furnace in *Siberia*[3]. How it was brought to *Stockholm* we did not learn. Some of the *Swedish* mineralo- College of Mines.

(2) The last was discovered by Dr. *Wollaston*, in some of the *iron* ore which was brought from *Lapland*. *Zircon* was discovered in *iron* ore by Mr. *Swedenstierna* of *Stockholm*. (See *Thomson's Trav. in Sweden*, *p.* 105. *Lond.* 1813.) In some of the *iron* ore of *Gellivara*, crystals of *zircon* might be discerned.

(3) See p. 204 of Vol. IX. of these Travels.

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gists attached more importance to this artificial appearance than we did; considering it as a satisfactory elucidation of the origin of what is commonly called the *basaltic* formation by means of igneous fusion. We caused an accurate drawing to be made of it, by *Martin*, which has been engraved as a *Vignette* to this Chapter. By this it will appear, that the prismatic form which the mass assumed in cooling after fusion, can hardly be considered as characterized by that regularity of structure which belongs to *basalt*; that is to say, to those rocks in which *hornblende*, forming a predominant ingredient, generally occasions a much nearer approach to crystallization: nor would the subject have been again introduced, were it not for the contending theories which prevail respecting the origin of rocks exhibiting a prismatic structure, and the proofs urged to demonstrate that *basalt* has sustained the igneous fusion[1]. Persons who main-

Igneous *Basalt.*

(1) Some of these proofs, it must be owned, have been strangely defective. A very principal one was this—that *coal*, lying in contact with *basalt*, had, by the heat of the melted *basalt*, been converted into *coke*. It happened to the author to be permitted to examine a series of specimens of this supposed *coke*: they were preserved in a very celebrated collection, and arranged in a regular order, from the state of the natural and unaltered *pit-coal*, through all the changes which the mineral had been said to have sustained, of incipient and more perfect calcination, until it appeared as a scoriaceous body, deprived, it was maintained, of its bituminous and volatile ingredients, in which state it was denominated *coke*.

To

tain this opinion, will find, in this solitary example, something calculated to support their favourite hypothesis.

Apparel worn by *Charles the Twelfth* when he was assassinated.

The hat and clothes worn by *Charles the Twelfth* when he was shot in the trenches before *Frederickshall* are preserved in the *Arsenal* in the north suburb, precisely in the state in which they were taken from the King's body after his assassination. That he was really assassinated, seems so clear, that it is marvellous any doubt should be entertained as to the fact; and yet, with a view to ascertain the truth as to the manner of his death, every succeeding sovereign has thought it right to open his sepulchre, and to inspect his embalmed remains. The other curiosities contained also in the arsenal are, the skin of a horse upon which *Gustavus Adolphus* rode at the battle of *Lutzen;* a boat built by *Peter the Great* at *Sardam* in *Holland,* taken by the *Swedes* while on its way to *Petersburgh;* a number of trophies taken by *Charles the Twelfth,* from the *Russians,* the *Poles,* and the *Danes;* also

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To this last substance the author's attention was particularly directed. Being permitted to examine and to analyze it, he found that its scoriaceous and porous texture was entirely owing to a number of little cavities which had been occupied by a granular *carbonate of lime;* a notable quantity of which was still disseminated throughout the mass, but which had undergone *no calcination:* it effervesced in acids, as usual; and *lime* was precipitated from its solution.

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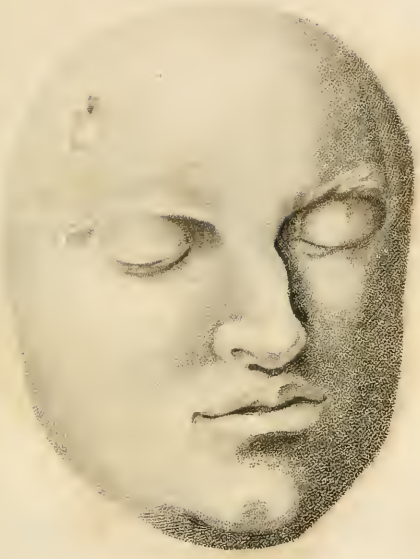
the dress worn by *Gustavus the Third* at the time of his assassination, and his image in wax, which we before noticed[1]. Our main object, upon this occasion, was to see once more the clothes worn by *Charles the Twelfth* at the time of his death, as connected with a few observations which we had made respecting that event, and which we shall presently state. The coat is a plain blue uniform, with large brass buttons, like that of a common soldier; the gloves are of buff leather, and reached almost up to the elbow; the right-hand glove is a good deal stained with blood[2], and so is a buff belt which he wore round his body. The hat seems to have been slightly grazed by the ball in that part which immediately covered his temple; but there was nothing in its appearance which could throw any light upon the nature of the wound that was inflicted; that is to say, whether it had been thus grazed by a ball entering in, or going out. The appearance of the scull, after the King's death, satisfactorily proved that the wound in the temple was made by a

(1) See Vol. IX. p. 194.

(2) Mr. *Coxe*, who mentions this circumstance, considers it as probable that the King, "upon receiving the shot, instantly applied his right hand to the wound in his temple, and then to his sword."—*See Trav. into Sweden, p. 352. Lond.* 1784.



ball going out. Was it to be believed that a ball from the enemies' works, at the distance the King stood, would have either taken the direction of that by which he was shot, or that it would have passed entirely through the scull on both sides? Mr. *Fredenheim*, Knight of the Polar Star, President of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture, distinguished by his travels and historical collections, and High Steward of all the Royal Cabinets, had, at this time, the care of the matrice moulded upon the King's face soon after he was killed. Owing to his kindness, and that of Mr. *Breda*, to whom *Gustavus the Fourth* came daily to sit for his portrait, permission was obtained for us to have a Cast taken from this matrice: it is now deposited in the University Library at *Cambridge*. From the appearance of this Cast, all dispute must cease as to the nature of the shot which caused the King's death; which, in the account of that event published by order of the *Swedish* Government, was said to have been a ball from a falconet[3]. *Voltaire*, also, in his anxiety to do away the imputation that had fallen upon his countryman, *Siquier*, insists upon it that the ball was too large for the

Cast of the Face of *Charles the Twelfth* after death.

(3) See *Coxe's Travels into Sweden, p. 357. Lond.* 1784.—"A ball from a falconet usually weighs one pound and one eighth, at the least." *Ibid.*

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calibre of a pistol[1]; whereas it is plain that the real shot was a pistol bullet. The appearance of the wound in the temple also shews that it was inflicted by a bullet going out, and slanting upwards, having entered into the lower part of the scull behind: and that the shot was directed by a private hand from behind, and did not come from the enemies' works, is obvious from this circumstance, and from the fact of the King's having drawn his sword half out of its scabbard, in the agonies of death, to immolate his assassin[2]. Who can read the conversation which passed between Count *Liewen*, the King's Page, then upon the spot, and Mr. *Wraxall*, without being convinced that the King was assassinated[3], even if this evidence were wanted:

(1) "Que l'on considéré que la balle qui frappa *Charles* XII. ne pouvait entrer dans un pistolet, et que *Siquier* n'aurait pû faire ce coup détestable qu' avec un pistolet caché sous son habit."—Also, in giving the account of the King's death, *Voltaire* makes the weight of the ball equal to half-a-pound. "Une balle pesant une demi-livre l'avait atteint à la temple droit." *Œuvres de Voltaire, tome* VII. *Histoire de Charles* XII. *pp.* 280, 283. *Génève*, 1768.

(2) "I followed the Officers to the place where the King was killed. The Prince ordered the Generals and Officers who were present to place the body in a litter prepared to convey it to the head-quarters; one-and-twenty soldiers standing around with wax tapers in their hands. We observed that the King, in the agonies of death, had drawn his sword half out of the scabbard; and that the hilt was so tightly grasped by the right-hand, as not to be disengaged without difficulty."—*See the Account taken from the Narrative of* Philgren, *a Page to the* Prince of Hesse, *who was that day in waiting. Coxe's Trav. into Sweden, p. 354. Lond.* 1784.

(3) "There are now very few men alive who can speak with so much certainty as myself. I was in the camp before *Frederickshall*; and had the

but as it is so nearly connected with a very important event in history, and serves to confirm Count *Liewen*'s testimony, we have caused an accurate drawing of this Cast to be engraved, in which the nature of the wound in the right temple may be as plainly discerned as if the original had been exposed to view. The same engraving will also serve to exhibit the countenance of *Charles the Twelfth* with much greater accuracy than any other portrait can pretend to: it remained unaltered even in death; and displays, in a very striking manner, the haughtiness of character for which this hero was so remarkably distinguished.

We shall now close our account of *Stockholm* with some remarks upon the *Royal* or *Public Library*, and the actual state of literature in *Sweden*. For the substance of our information upon the latter subject, we are indebted to the communications made to us by the King's Librarian, Mr. *Giörwell*. We are the more anxious to oppose Mr. *Giörwell*'s statement to the observa-

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the honour to serve the King, in quality of Page, on that night when he was killed. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT HE WAS ASSASSINATED. The night was extremely dark; and it was almost an impossibility that a ball from the fort could enter his head, at the distance, and on the spot where he stood. I saw the King's body, AND AM CERTAIN THE WOUND IN HIS TEMPLE WAS MADE BY A PISTOL-BULLET."—*Count Liewen's Conversation with Mr. Wraxall. See Coxe's Travels, &c. p.* 357.

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tions we before introduced upon the state of *Sweden* and *Swedish* literature, because, coming from a *Swede*, it will shew what their opinions are respecting their own country. This gentleman drew up for us a Memoir upon the progress and state of Letters and of the Arts, during the reigns of *Gustavus the Third* and *Gustavus the Fourth;* prefacing it, at the same time, with a few remarks upon the state of learning in *Sweden* at a much earlier period;—but, of course, we shall only extract from this memoir the principal facts. In his preface to it, the learned author dwells too much upon the importance of the historical ballads of the *Scalds*, and other of their records called *Sagor;* as also upon the Latin Chronicles of the middle ages, and the code of laws extant about the same time in the language of the country, of which we have hardly now any remnant[1]. We shall therefore pass immediately to the rest of his observations; beginning with the *Royal Library*, from a view of which, perhaps, a better estimate may be made of the encouragement given to literature, than from almost any other document; because this col-

Royal Library.

(1) "Entre autres ouvrages de cette periode," observes Mr. *Giörwell*, "nous en avons un qui a pour titre '*Le Miroir des Rois et des Régens.*' C'est un vrai trésor de sagesse et politique. Il a été traduit en Latin, et publier par *Jean Schefferus*, à *Stockholm*, 1669, in folio."

lection is open to the public, and was formed under the brightest auspices *Sweden* has yet beheld. It consists of three long galleries in one of the angles of a small court belonging to the Palace, and is certainly the finest literary establishment in all *Sweden*. It was first appropriated to public use during the reign of *Gustavus Adolphus*. This Library was plundered at the departure of Queen *Christiana* in 1654[2], and suffered from fire during the conflagration of the Palace in 1797. In the reign of *Gustavus the Third*, it was greatly enriched; and after his death augmented, by the addition of all his private library, which was very select, and consisted of 14,000 volumes, forming a most valuable collection of works in history, politics, and general literature. His library was moreover

(2) It is very difficult to obtain any accurate account of the state of *Sweden* at this period, and of the opportunities of plunder to which the Queen's departure gave rise. Among the literary losses which the *Royal Library* then sustained, it is said that the *Codex Argenteus*, now at *Upsala*, was one; and that this valuable manuscript was embezzled and carried out of *Sweden* by *Isaac Vossius*. The manner of its restoration afterwards was before mentioned. The losses appear to have been owing to the disorder which arose in packing up the articles which the Queen took away with her at her departure; for it seems, from what *Puffendorf* has related, that the ornaments of the Coronation of *Charles Gustavus* were afterwards borrowed. "*La Suède se trouvoit épuisée; et la Reine avoit fait emballer et transporter en Allemagne la plus grande partie des meubles de la couronne, de sorte que presque tout ce qui parut dans cette cérémonie avoit été emprunté.*"—*Histoire de Suède par Puffendorf, tome* II. *p.* 420. *Amst.* 1743.

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rich in manuscripts: it contained all the *Sagor*, *Chronicles*, and *Diplomas* anterior to the reign of *Gustavus Vasa*, together with many beautiful manuscripts of antient authors and of the middle age. Among the last, the most remarkable is a copy of the Four Gospels in folio, with initial letters in gold; thence called the *Codex Aureus*. This manuscript seems to have belonged to some splendid ecclesiastical establishment in *Spain*: it was purchased in *Madrid* in 1690, by the learned *Sparvenfeldt*, Master of the Ceremonies to *Charles* XI. who travelled, at the expense of that monarch, all over *Europe*, in search of manuscripts. His autograph appears upon this manuscript in the following words: "*Pretiosissimum hunc Evangeliorum Codicem emi ex famosâ illâ Bibliothecâ ill^mi Marchionis de Liche Mantuæ carpent.* A. 1690, *d.* 8. *Jan. Ego Joannes Gabriel Sparvenfeldt nob. Suecus.*"

Codex Aureus.

Codex Giganteus.

A very remarkable manuscript preserved in this library is the *Codex Giganteus*; so called on account of its colossal size. It was taken, among other spoils, from a *Benedictine* monastery at *Prague*, during the Thirty-years' war, by Field-marshal Count *Königsmark*. It is two *Swedish* ells in height, and of proportionate breadth. This code is in fact a species of library in itself: it contains, besides the *Vulgate*, a collection

of writings upon the Jewish Antiquities, by *Josephus, Isidorus,* &c. Also the *Cosmæ Pragensis Chronicon Bohemiæ.* A learned *Hungarian* of the name of *Dobrowski* made a journey to *Sweden* in 1792, expressly to examine this codex. Because the volume is terminated by a treatise on magic, ornamented with an illuminated figure of the *Devil,* several foreigners who have visited this Library, being struck with the enormous size of the volume, and with this singular illumination, have agreed in calling it "*La Bible du Diable*[1] and *Codex Diaboli.*" There is also a most curious manuscript, entitled "*Magistri Johannis Arderum de Slewark, de Arte Physicali et de Cirurgiâ, quas ego prædictus Johannes fervente pestilentiâ, quæ fuit anno Domino millesimo* CCCXLIX. *usque annum Domini* M. CCCCXII. *Morem* (aut *moram*) *egi apud Newerk, in comitatu Slothingui, et ibidem quamplures de infirmitatibus subscriptis curavi.*" This manuscript is upon a

(1) This manuscript, for particular reasons, is not often shewn to strangers. The Authors of the *Voyage de Deux Français* were not allowed to examine it; yet if the account of it which they received from the Abbé *Albertrandi,* Librarian of the King of *Poland,* be correct, it may have received the name of "*The Devil's Bible*" from a very different cause: it may have been so called from the confession, "*en lettres rouges sur un fond brun*" at the end of the manuscript, of its former *diabolical* owner.—See the work above cited, tome II. p. 84. *Paris,* 1796.

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vellum-roll of considerable length, divided into columns. In these columns are represented the figures of the persons diseased; and by the side of them a description of the disorder, and the remedy prescribed. There are also anatomical figures for *midwifery* &c. Considering the date of this work, it is very curious to observe the words "*Pro morbo qui dicitur*" * * * * * * * * *, followed by the *French* name of a disorder which is supposed not to have been known in *Europe* before the discovery of *America*.

Typographic Rarities.

Among the typographical rarities of this Library, we saw one, in large quarto, with wood-cuts, which would hold a distinguished place in any collection: it has this title—"*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis;*" being without date or printer's name, or any indication of the place where it was printed. Some have supposed that it proceeded from the press of *John Coster*, at *Harlem*, in 1440: others, that it was printed by *John Faust*, at *Mayence*, in 1459. Also, *Cicero de Officiis*, upon vellum, by *Faust* and *Schoeffer*, at *Mayence*, 1466. The first edition of *Homer*, at *Florence*, 1488, in the highest state of preservation, upon paper, with a wide margin. But more valuable than all these is the copy, here preserved, of the identical *Vulgate* which belonged to LUTHER—*Biblia Vet. et*

Nov. Testmenti; the margin being covered, as well as all other spaces open to his pen, with his own autograph notes. This volume was printed in folio, at *Lyons*, 1521. It was found by the *Swedes* at the capture of *Wittenberg*. The curious commentaries which *Luther* has here added, seem to make known the progress of his ideas upon subjects of divinity and ecclesiastical discipline. By trophies such as these, taken by the *Swedes* during the Thirty-years' war, in consequence of the victories won by *Gustavus Adolphus*, and by *Charles Gustavus*, the libraries of *Sweden* became enriched, as those of *Germany*, *Prussia*, and *Denmark* became impoverished. But the most precious part of the whole collection is preserved in a small chamber adjoining the Library; namely, fourteen large volumes, in folio, of Original Designs by the old Masters, and of every School[1]. This collection was bought by the Senator Count *Charles Gustavus de Tessin*, during his embassy at *Paris*, and was presented by that nobleman to King *Adolphus Frederic*. After the death of his father, *Gustavus the Third* gave it to the Library, for the use of the State. To this collection is added

Collection of Original Designs.

(1) This valuable collection contains 3025 Designs, distributed according to the different Schools, in the following order:

Florentine

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an Historical Catalogue by the Grand-Chancellor, Baron *De Sparre*, and in his own handwriting. Almost all these designs are unique. The principal part of those belonging to the *Roman* School are by the hand of *Raphael*.

Royal Museum.

From this establishment we cannot separate the Museum, founded by the Duke Regent, in 1792. It contains all the *Greek*, *Roman*, and *Swedish* antiquities which were formerly scattered over the kingdom. Some of the finest paintings belonging to the Royal Collection have been added to the *Museum*[1]: it occupies

Florentine School	183
School of Sienna	43
Roman School	406
School of Lombardy	29
Bologna	517
Milan, Cremona, and other Italian Towns	19
Venice	157
Genoa, Naples, and Schools of Spain	75
Designs of unknown Masters	234
Flemish, Dutch, and German	470
Swedish designs	105
Portraits of celebrated Painters, of the Italian, German, and Flemish Schools	83
Drawings of the French School	566
Various Designs of Antient Masters	138
	3025

(1) Among many other remarkable pictures in the *Museum*, there is one, a *Portrait of a Woman, with a Negro;* remarkable for this artifice of the painter, who, to hide the sallowness of complexion in the Lady who sate to him, has introduced the head of the Negro. She would have appeared as a *Mulatto*, but for the contrast thus afforded.

two grand galleries below the Library. The immediate care of the Library was entrusted to Professor *Malmstroem*; and the management of the *Museum* to the Grand Chamberlain, or Intendant of the Court, Mr. *Fredenheim*. Besides this library at *Stockholm*, and that of *Dröttningholm*, there is also another, belonging to the Crown, at *Haga*, extremely select, and composed chiefly of scarce books, collected by Count *De Creutz*, when he was Minister in *Spain* and afterwards in *France*. The two libraries of *Dröttningholm* and *Haga* are preserved exactly as they were under *Gustavus the Third*; and they are independent of the great libraries of the kingdom, of which we have now spoken.

Observations on the Literature of *Sweden*.

The first dawning of any national spirit of literature in *Sweden* does not date earlier than the reign of *Gustavus Adolphus*, in the beginning of the seventeenth century: for although *Gustavus Vasa*, in new modelling the State and the Church, had burst the fetters of that liberty of opinion which is essential to the very being of knowledge, yet the religious controversies in which the State was involved arrested the progress of letters almost an entire century. To *Gustavus Adolphus* it was owing that the *Swedes*, as a people, first began to feel an emulation of being distinguished in the world of Letters.

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The examples set by this monarch, in reserving, as his own share of plunder, all the literary spoils taken in war, and afterwards presenting them to the literary establishments of his country[1], was followed by his successors: and it has greatly tended to add to the literary wealth and character of the nation. His extensive knowledge and patronage of learning have never been duly appreciated; being lost in the splendour of his military achievements. The library at *Upsala*, according to *Olaus Celsius*, owes its origin to *Gustavus Adolphus*[2]. The plans devised by that monarch for the advancement of literature in *Sweden* were adopted and perfected by his daughter, a princess marvellously distinguished by her talents and love of letters. *Christina* had no sooner mounted the throne, than she invited to her Court men of genius and high literary character, from other countries. *Descartes* was one of these: he died at *Stockholm*. Among her own subjects, she encouraged and rewarded all those who rendered themselves conspicuous by their talents: and in this list was signalized one whom the *Swedes* consider as

(1) Ingentem auri argentique prædam militibus reliquisset rex; sibi solos reservavit libros, quos sine morâ in patriam misit, Upsaliensi Bibliothecæ inserendos."—*Ol. Celsii, Hist. Bib. Upsal. p.* 21.

(2) Ibid.

the greatest genius which their country has produced; namely, *Stiernhielm;* known among them as a poet and philosopher of such eminence, that they have bestowed upon him the name of POLYHISTOR.

During the wars of *Charles the Tenth, Eleventh,* and *Twelfth,* learning made but little progress in *Sweden.* Nevertheless, under the special protection of *Charles the Eleventh,* the study of *Northern Antiquities* and of *Natural History* became a favourite pursuit among the scholars of the country. Under *Frederic the First,* a long period of tranquillity and peace with foreign powers afforded opportunities to the national genius to direct its inquiries towards other branches of knowledge. At this time, the prevailing taste inclined towards the sciences of *Natural History,* especially to *Mineralogy;* and towards the study of *Political Economy.* But it was reserved for *Adolphus Frederic,* or rather for his enlightened spouse, Queen *Louisa Ulrica,* to protect, encourage, and gather round the throne, philosophers and artists, in all the branches of learning and the Fine Arts. *Sweden* herself has never produced so many distinguished literary men as beneath the sway of this princess. As the greater part of them were still living under *Gustavus the Third,* and during his reign some

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distinguished dramatic writers, together with several artists, were added to the list, it has been usual to consider them under one point of view, as forming a single epocha, which has been denominated THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE SWEDISH AUGUSTUS.

Gustavus the Third inherited from his mother, *Louisa Ulrica*, that refined taste, and that generosity of soul, which had given life, energy, and capacity to the *Swedish* genius. Equally illustrious in political talents and in warlike achievements; distinguished by his passion for literature and the arts; by the care which he took to maintain and foster all the establishments necessary for their culture; by the talents which he displayed in many of his own compositions; by his seducing eloquence, in which he surpassed all other princes of his time; he was eminently fitted for the conspicuous station he held, and for becoming the ornament of that age of intellectual improvement in *Sweden* which his own genius and example had consummated. But, in speaking of the Golden Age of *Gustavus the Third*, it ought also to be stated, that *Sweden* had among its nobles many patrons of literature, men of the highest talents, whose zeal and abilities greatly tended to accelerate its progress; to mention in this number only two—Count

De Tessin and Count *De Höpken;* the first of whom combined within himself almost every mental accomplishment.

In the present state of literature in *Sweden*, the sciences most cultivated (exclusive of *Divinity* and *Law*) are, the History of the Kingdom, and the Statistics of its different Provinces; Natural History, especially *Mineralogy*, *Botany*, and *Chemistry;* also *Astronomy*, *Rural Economy*, and *Surgery*. The field of *Belles Lettres* has afforded two epic poems, pastorals, satires, some anacreontics, operas, and dramas. With regard to the arts, in *Architecture*, in *Sculpture*, *Painting*, *Engraving*, and in the art of striking *Medals*, very considerable progress has been made of late years. The Literary Establishments of *Sweden* have been before mentioned: it will not, therefore, be necessary to enumerate them: they consist of Universities, Academies, Societies, public and private Libraries, Cabinets of Natural History, Antiquities, Coins, and other useful institutions. Besides the Universities, there are Literary Societies established in some of the towns of *Sweden;* as, for example, the *Society of Sciences and Belles Lettres* at *Gothenburg*, founded in 1773. *Sweden* has also twelve colleges, called *Gymnasia;* one in each episcopal city: and in all the towns there are

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Public Schools. Some of the *Gymnasia* have their own libraries: and in this number, the library of *Linkoeping* deserves to be particularly noticed, on account of its valuable manuscripts relating to the history of *Sweden*. A Military Academy, established in the Royal Palace at *Carlberg*, was founded by the Duke Regent in 1792. The youths admitted into this Academy are educated under excellent masters, and, moreover, instructed by Professors, chosen for this purpose, in all the arts and sciences.

In the year 1770, a Royal Committee for the guardianship of Public Education was established: it was charged with the general and immediate inspection of all places and establishments for the instruction of youth. It continued in force for about twenty years, when, in 1771, it was suppressed by order of *Gustavus the Third*. Great hopes of its revival, under the reigning monarch, were entertained at this time, by those who had the best interests of their country at heart. We were not made acquainted with the reasons for its suppression.

In *Stockholm*, moreover, besides a Chirurgical Society, there is a Royal College of Medicine, to which are attached a Library, an Anatomical Theatre, and a Lying-in Hospital. The members of this College give public lectures in

Anatomy, *Botany*, and *Pharmacy*. In the limits of a work of this kind, it is impossible to enter fully into the detail of all the minor establishments affecting the general state of knowledge in *Sweden*. For this reason we have omitted to notice many private cabinets in different parts of the country, although some of them be of considerable importance; as the collection belonging to Baron *De Sparre*, Senator Baron *De Ridderstolfe*, to the Count *Brahe*, and General Count *Horn*; in all of which there are valuable manuscripts.

Remarks on the *Swedish* Poetry.

With the slight knowledge that we had of the *Swedish* language, we could nevertheless discern the beauty of the *Swedish* poetry; and we shall add a short account of some poetical and other works: but the poetry is of a peculiar cast. The *Swedish* Poets are fond of rhyming in *trochaic dissyllables*, and of introducing *Alexandrines* into their compositions. The language is exceedingly soft and harmonious, although not equal in this respect to the language of *Finland*, which may be considered as a concentration of pleasing sounds, admirably adapted to poetry, and fuller of vowels than the *Italian*. That of *Sweden* is perhaps more dignified when in prose; but in verse, the measure being so frequently trochaic, is perhaps best suited to convivial songs and

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accompaniments of the dance. It is very easy to give an imitation of this trochaic or ballad-metre, with the double rhyme:—

Let us drink and merry be,
Laughing, singing, dancing:
Who so blithe, so gay as we,
Now the night's advancing?

All our daily labour done,
Set the cans a-clinking:
Fill and swill, till morning sun
Calls us from our drinking!

Some of our old *English* ballads were composed exactly in the same style. The old song of "*Barbara Allen's Cruelty*" is quite in the character of *Swedish* poetry[1]:

"In Scarlet towne, where I was borne,
There was a fair maid dwellin,
Made every youth crye, Well-awaye!
Her name was Barbara Allen."

But the Odes are sometimes written in a much more turgid and pompous manner, upon the most solemn, grave, and even melancholy subjects, with long stanzas and *Alexandrine* lines;

(1) The Reader may compare with it the first stanza of a poem by Professor *Franzen* of *Åbo*, given in the *Appendix*:

Unga Flicka i din vår
Bind dig Myrtenkransen
Dansa medan Du förmår
Snart är Du ur dansen.

and of this kind of metre there are many examples among the specimens of early *English* poetry. The following list will serve to shew the subjects of the most-admired native compositions in *Sweden*.

POEMS.

List of Poetical Works.

1. "The Passage of the Belt by Charles Gustavus (Tåget öfver Bält):" an heroic poem in twelve cantos, by Count *De Gyllenborg:* also author of "The Seasons (Årstiderne)," and of a satire called "My Friends (Mina Vänner);" works of great merit.

2. "The Harvest (Skördarne)," by the nephew of the preceding, Count *Oxenstierna;* a pastoral poem, in nine cantos.—This poem is much admired in *Sweden*.

3. "Swedish Liberty (Svenska Friheten);" an epic poem, by the late Mr. *Dalin*, author of the best History of *Sweden*.

4. "Atis and Camilla (Atis och Camilla)," by the late Count *Creutz*.—The object of this poem is to represent love in the most delicate colours. It is a work of great energy, and full of pleasing but voluptuous descriptions.

5. "The Legacy of a Father to his Children," by Mr. *Liljestrûle;* a didactic poem.

6. "The Dalecarlians (Dalkarlarne)," by the late Mr. *Engzell;* a political poem, in praise of the fidelity and courage of the *Dalecarlians*, ready to sacrifice themselves in defence of their Country and for their King.

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Tragedies.

TRAGEDIES.

1. "Oden," (founder of the kingdom of *Sweden*), by Mr. *Leopold*;—beyond all contradiction, the finest work of the kind which the *Swedes* have.—*Leopold* is called the *Voltaire* of *Sweden*.

2. "Sune Jarl," Grand-Mayor of the Kingdom; by the Count *De Gyllenborg*.

3. "Ingiald illråde," King of Sweden; who burns, at a festival, the minor kings his vassals, to render himself despotic;—by Mr. *Adlerbeth*.

GRAND OPERAS.

Operas.

1. "Gustavus Vasa," by the late Mr. *Kellgren*; considered, not only by the *Swedes*, but by all the Foreign Ministers resident in the Country, as surpassing, in magnificence and in the style of its composition, every theatrical work of the kind in *Europe*.

2. "The Holiday of Sweden (Svea's Högtid);" composed upon the occasion of the erection of the statue of *Gustavus Vasa* in the *Place des Nobles*; by Count *De Gyllenborg*.

MINOR OPERAS.

1. "Opportunity makes the Thief" (Swedish proverb—Tilfälle giör Tjufven); by Baron *D'Armfeldt*, distinguished by the high favour in which he was held by *Gustavus the Third*, and by the disgrace into which he fell when Duke *Charles* became Regent.—His having enjoyed the confidence of the former, would sufficient

account for the hatred entertained towards him by the latter.

2. "THE EXTRAVAGANT MUSICIAN (Musik-Wurmen);" a very popular piece; by Mr. *Enwallson*; also author of another, which has had great success, called "Krono-Fogdarne."

DRAMAS.

Dramas.

1. "Siri Brahe;" by *Gustavus the Third*; who also composed another piece, called "Natalie Kariskin."—These are much extolled by the *Swedes*, but have never been printed.

2. "Helmfeldt;" by *Gustavus the Third.—Helmfeldt* was son of a Burgomaster of *Stockholm*, who, after many extraordinary adventures, became one of the greatest Generals of *Charles* XI.; and in that state was recognised by his aged father, who believed him dishonoured and dead.

3. "Birger Jarl," Regent of the Kingdom; by Count *De Gyllenborg.*

4. "THE FATHER RECONCILED (Den Forsonade Fadren);" by Mr. *Lindegren.*

COMEDIES.

Comedies.

1. "THE NEW MASTER (Nya Herrskapet);" by Count *De Gyllenborg.*

2. "THE OFFICIOUS (Fjasken);" by the late Mr. *Schroederheim.*

3. "THE BOASTER" (*Captain Puff*, or Storprataren); by the late Mr. *Kexel.*—This is the best piece belonging to the *Swedish* Theatre, in the style of low comedy.

CHAP. III.

These are the principal productions of the *Swedish* Muse, and they are all original compositions. To this list may be added an heroic Drama in prose, composed by *Gustavus the Third*, entitled "GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AND EBBA BRAHE (Guſtaf-Adolph och Ebba Brahe)." It was performing at *Dröttningholm*, the 11th of *September* 1783, by the Duke *Charles*, the Princess Royal, and other persons of the highest distinction about the Court. The story upon which this piece turns is founded upon the love felt by the young King, *Gustavus Adolphus*, for the beautiful *Ebba Brahe*, daughter of a Peer who ranks highest in the order of the *Swedish* Nobility; a passion which he sacrificed for the honour of his august family and for the throne of *Sweden*, according to the haughty notions of his Court, especially of his mother the Queen Dowager. The piece, characterized by the genius and political talents of *Gustavus the Third*, was afterwards put into *Swedish* verse by Mr. *Kellgren*, and performed for the first time in *Stockholm* upon the 24th of *January* 1788. It may be found printed in the collection of Mr. *Kellgren*'s works.

Works in the higher order of Literature.

In the higher walks of Literature we should now vainly seek for works of much importance. *Celsius*, Bishop of *Lund*, is the author of a History of *Gustavus Vasa*, and his son *Eric* XIV. The

historical work of Mr. *Dalin* has been already noticed. *Tacitus* has been translated by Mr. *Steenpiper*. The master of the Cathedral School of *Stockholm* may be considered as an historian of merit: his name is *Murrberg:* he wrote an account of *Christian*'s residence in *Stockholm* in 1520. Biography has also found an advocate in Mr. *Nordin,* who has written the *Lives of Illustrious Swedes*. There are some distinguished men at the University of *Åbo;* but of these we may speak hereafter. Much may yet be expected from the *Swedes;* and their literature may revive; but it must be owned the prospect is a bad one. The spirit of the people remains yet unbroken: but where the liberty of the press is annihilated—and *Russia,* like one of those moving bogs, of which we read, in *Ireland,* comes slowly but surely on, threatening to overwhelm the country[1], and to extinguish all that remains of genius and heroism in the land—he must indeed be sanguine who can hope to see *Sweden* regenerated and her glory restored.

(1) The University of *Åbo*, together with all *Finland*, has already fallen under the dominion of *Russia*.

CHAP. IV.

STOCKHOLM TO ÅLAND.

Characteristical Swedish *Exclamation*—*Departure from* Stockholm—*Commencement of the Winter season*—*Grisselhamn*—*Telegraph*—*Passage-boat*—*Geographical Nomenclature*—*Dangerous situation of the Author and his Companions*—*Providential escape*—*Aspect of affairs in landing upon* Åland—Frebbenby—*State Messenger of the Court of* Russia—*Ruins of* Castelholm—*History of that Fortress*—Skårpans—*Change in the Manners of the People*—Bomarsund—Vargatta *Sound*—*Sledge-Travelling*—*Isle of* Vardö—*The Party embark across the*

the Delen *for* Kumlinge—*The Author induced to return to* Skårpans—*Festivities of Christmas Eve—Attempt to convey the carriage upon the ice—Sudden storm—Village of* Vardö—*Interior of an* Åland *Dwelling—Breakfast of the Natives—Extra Post—A turbulent sea frozen in one night—Cause of the rapid change—The Author re-crosses the* Bomarsund—*Southern Passage to* Kumlinge —*State of the* Delen—*Geological features of* Åland—*Manners of the* Ålanders *in Winter—Number of inhabitants — Means of subsistence — Clergy — Land-measurers — their destructive influence and depredations.*

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Among the peculiarities of national habits which cannot fail to be remarked by a stranger in *Sweden*, is the universal prevalence of an expression constantly in use, although adapted to a great variety of feelings and circumstances. This expression consists of two monosyllables, *Ja så!* pronounced with a strong aspiration upon the first, and a lengthened tone upon the second; varying, however, according to the passion that is to be expressed—*Yah so!* It is impossible to give an idea of the innumerable significations to which *Yah so!* is applied: from the throne to the cottage it constitutes four-fifths of the remarks made by the *Swedes* upon all occasions. Sometimes, when a person is relating a story, it comes out slowly, as a kind of obliging assent to the credit of his narration, and an encourage-

Characteristical *Swedish* exclamation.

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ment for him to proceed—*Yah so! Yah so!* And then it is given in a subdued and whining tone: at others, upon suddenly comprehending what was before a paradox, it bursts forth with emphasis—*Yah so!!!* Again, at other times, it is used as a term of defiance, and with a more guttural sound, upon being menaced—*Yach so!* And then it is accompanied by a corresponding swing of the head. Again in rejoinder; as for example: QUEST. Who are they? ANSW. Englishmen. REJOIND. *Yah so!* If a *Swede* were told that his head would be struck off within the next half hour, he would say, beyond doubt, *Yah so!* This is not peculiar to the Capital, or to any one of the Provinces, but may be observed alike in all parts of the Country. Wherever a *Swede* is found, *Yah so!* is sure to denote his presence.

We felt sorry when the time arrived in which it was necessary to bid farewell, not only to *Yah so!* under all its multiplied associations, but to the *Swedes* and to their Country. Being tempted by the hope of overtaking the friends with whom we entered *Sweden*[1], before they should have left *Petersburg*, we had waited only for the coming of the frost to set out for *Russia*.

(1) Professor *Malthus* and the Rev. *W. Otter*.

We left *Stockholm*, upon wheels, before the snow had fallen, upon *Saturday*, *Dec.* 14. The mercury in *Fahrenheit*'s thermometer fell this day, at noon, only four degrees below the freezing point, and it had not been so low during all the month of *November*. Soon afterwards, however, its descent was, with little variation, progressive. At seven in the evening it fell 21° below freezing.

We had bought of Signor *Acerbi* a very excellent *German Bâtarde*, which that traveller had caused to be constructed in *Vienna* according to his own directions, and it was provided with many conveniences for travelling. We have given an account of such a vehicle in a former volume[2]. We passed the first night at *Kragsta*. In our way thither, through *Ensta Ösby*, *Hall*, and *Rilanda*, the country was more open than usual, and much cultivated. The roads were rendered as perfect as possible by the frost. According to the custom in *Sweden* and *Russia*, our postillion drove four horses abreast. We passed several lakes, which were frozen. The next day we journeyed through *Svanberga*, *Stabby* or *Staba*, and *Tresta*, to *Grissehamn*. The cold was now become so piercing, that we could

(2) See Vol. I. p. 16.

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see little of the country. At *Staba* we estimated the temperature at noon: the mercury, by *Fahrenheit*'s scale, fell fourteen degrees and a half below freezing. Afterwards it became much colder. We did not venture to open a window; but the vapour of our breath froze into a thick coat of ice upon the glass. The winter had now evidently set in, with considerable severity; but the atmosphere was clear and dry. The people were all rejoicing at the change; because this is to them the heyday of the year. The lakes were crowded with boys skaiting, or with peasants pushing before them sledges laden with different articles. Their winter-dress is a sheep-skin coat, worn with the wool towards the body: it is white and clean, and has a neat appearance. Upon their heads they wear handsome caps of dark fur, with crowns of scarlet cloth. Every house that we entered was filled with provisions. The frost preserves all their meat, which is, therefore, much more wholesome than if it were salted. Even the poorest peasants have a share of luxurious diet at this season of the year. We said to some of them, that it was very cold; to which they replied, rubbing their hands, and with looks of joy, "Yes, bravely cold—beautiful weather! Now you may travel as fast as you please!"—Indeed the roads were ren-

Commencement of the Winter Season.

dered so smooth and hard, that they seemed like one mass of stone. To give an idea of the severity of the frost, before we arrived at *Grissehamn*, it is only necessary to state, that some *Madeira* wine, in bottles, in the well of the carriage, became solid: when we attempted to pour it out, the wine would not flow, but fell, at last, slowly, in successive drops. All our bread was frozen, and could not be cut. We broke it with a hammer, and it glittered, within, like loaf-sugar. We had some cold roasted game, and this cut like a snow-ball. All the furs we could use in the close carriage, with all the windows up, would not protect us; we seemed to be sitting in the bleak and open air. Over our feet we had thick yarn stockings covered by stout leather boots, and over these again were boots made of the hides of rein-deer, with the hair on the outside, and doubly lined with sheep-skin covered with black wool. We had, moreover, fur caps upon our heads, and bear-skin pelisses over our bodies, besides several flannel waistcoats; and upon our hands, gloves of sheep-skin, covered by double gloves of fur and wool. Yet all these precautions did not protect us from feeling the severity of the weather. The *Swedes* told us, and we had reason afterwards to believe the truth of what they said,

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that we should be less sensible of the action of the atmosphere if we travelled, as they did, in open carriages. We found the houses in a very different state from that in which we had been accustomed to see them, and carefully guarded from the admission of external air. The windows in all the rooms were nailed up, and paper had been pasted over the crevices; yet the natives laughed when we conversed with them about their climate, saying it was nothing to what we should soon experience.

In the first stage this day, an iron bolt belonging to the carriage snapped like a piece of glass and was broken. This compelled us to proceed to an iron-foundry belonging to a Mr. *Arfvedson* of *Stockholm*, situate half-way between *Svanberga* and *Staba*. The superintendant of these works told us that a large quantity of bar-iron is manufactured here, which is sent to *Stockholm* for exportation. He also added, that they sometimes import sea-coal from *England*, for the use of the foundry. The same level country and richly-cultivated fields appeared the whole way to *Tresta*, where we crossed a ferry. Here the land wore a more sterile aspect, exhibiting a scene of hills and rocks the whole way to *Grissehamn*. This place consists of nothing more than a single post-house, built by Govern-

Grisse-hamn.

ment about twenty years ago; near which is stationed a *Telegraph*. It serves also to travellers as an inn, although the worst in all *Sweden*. There is no situation better adapted for a house of accommodation; but a place more poverty-struck, dirty, cold, or in all respects more wretched, can hardly be conceived. It stands upon a rock, close to the mouth of the *Gulph of Bothniâ*. The country around it is low, barren, and full of rocks, with here and there a few stunted trees and shrubs. We were detained at this miserable place, owing to the violence of the wind, which was now stormy. The mariners who conduct passengers over to *Ekerö* would not put off from the shore. During this delay, our situation was rather awkward; for while the excessive coldness of the weather drove us into the only room allowed for shelter, volumes of smoke from some green boughs piled beneath a large open chimney expelled us again into the open air. There was no other fuel to be had, and but little even of this. We set off, therefore, to visit the *Telegraph* erected near the spot. This machine is not only used for Government despatches; it gives notice, across the mouth of the Gulph, when travellers arrive—how many horses, and what other necessaries and accommodations

Telegraph.

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they may require—what boats will be wanted. The Director, who is the Postmaster, was perfectly versed in the art of working it: he said he would bespeak a dinner for us on the other side of the water; and regretted that he had no other provisions himself to offer us. To make him easy, we told him that we were tolerably provided for the day, and that he should share with us a part of our stock. He then permitted us to examine the *Telegraph* tables; which, perhaps, are much the same everywhere; but the simplicity of these struck us as being worth notice. He is able, according to his own statement, to work 1024 changes; and conveys intelligence to the distance of five *Swedish* miles and a half—nearly forty *English*. He said that this *Telegraph* was constructed after an *English* model. We were quite surprised at the facility and speed with which intercourse is carried on. Any message whatever may be sent by it, and in a few seconds. His book contained the ranks and professions of all travellers likely to arrive; and among others, the lofty title of "PAUL, *Emperor of all the Russias*," whose coming we thought no *Swede* would wish to announce. We sent an order by it, to have a dinner prepared in a warm room, and five horses ready for starting. The signs

of communication were all figures, ranged beneath a letter, in this order:

	A	
1	1	1
2	2	2
3	3	3

The letter A shews to what table of words or sentences the several signs belong; therefore, when the letter is changed, a new series is referred to: and there may be, of course, as many sets of changes as there are letters in the alphabet. The Director of the machine is placed in a small square room, with a telescope. He amused us by holding a conversation with his distant comrade. Sterile as was the appearance of the land about *Grissehamn*, it must wear a pleasing aspect in summer, from the number of the inlets of the Gulph intersecting the rocky shore. The opposite coast, when examined with a glass, was at this time glittering with masses of ice beginning to accumulate upon the shore.

We were detained the whole of *Monday* at *Grissehamn*. On *Tuesday*, *December* 17th, as soon

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as daylight appeared, we set sail. The wind had been gathering strength the whole of the preceding night; and we endeavoured, but in vain, to prevail upon our boatmen to take in a few reefs in the enormous sail with which they ventured forth in their small and rude bark. The carriage had been put on board soon after sunset; and we seated ourselves within it, to avoid as much as possible the piercing nature of the blast. Scarcely had we cleared the rocks around the bay of *Grissehamn*, when the vessel—gunnelling on her lee-side from the pressure of so much canvas, neither proportioned to the boat nor to the weather—shipped a sea that threatened at once to sink her. The effect of this was rendered the more alarming, by the beginning of that horrid state of confusion, in which men lose all presence of mind: one pulled at the boom, another let slip a wrong rope, and all management of the boat seemed to be lost. We made our escape from the window of the carriage, by means of the main-stay, which was within reach; and in another instant, those who could swim would have taken to the water, with a view to reach one of the rocks over which the sea was beating, and thence endeavour to gain the nearest shore. At this dreadful moment, when disorder and

Passage-Boat.

the tempest seemed to govern every thing, the man at the helm, by a daring but dextrous effort, put the vessel quite about, and saved us all. The management of the sail was then recovered, and, getting under a lee-shore, we rolled back to *Grissehamn*.

The tempest continued all that day, and throughout the entire night. On the following morning, *December* 18th, it was still more violent, with a contrary wind. The thermometer of *Fahrenheit*[1] was this morning sixteen degrees and a half below freezing. Upon our return, the poor man's fuel was all consumed. We sent for a load of wood; and making a large fire, managed to keep his airy chamber heated about up to the freezing point; living the whole time in a dense atmosphere of smoke, which we endeavoured to avoid by sitting on the floor. Our provisions were all expended, and there was literally nothing to be had upon the spot. We therefore sent our Interpreter, *Peter*, upon a sledge, along the smaller bays, which were now covered with ice, to search for and purchase

(1) We used a thermometer with the *centigrade* scale of *Celsius;* but as *Fahrenheit*'s scale, absurd and inconvenient as it is, still obtains a preference in *England*, we have always adapted our observations to *Fahrenheit*'s scale.

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provisions, which were plentiful enough inland. He returned at the close of the day, bringing the side of a hog and about thirty eggs. We could not even procure a candle, to cheer the long night in our cold and suffocating apartment; but by taking out those which were in the lanterns of our carriage, we obviated this inconvenience, and were able to amuse ourselves by writing, while the servants made a fry of the hog and the eggs, to which we invited our host. He told us that the boatmen upon this station are usually dextrous in the management of the wretched skiffs entrusted to their care, and that boats are rarely lost in making the passage. The last accident of this kind happened about a month before. A boat, overladen with forty tons of corn from *Upsala*, foundered in its passage to *Åland*, in a gale of wind; and one of the richest farmers in *Åland*, together with the rest of the crew, were lost. In the year 1791, a *Grissehamn* boat, returning from *Ekerö* with the mail, but without passengers, was driven, by a a strong westerly wind, into the *Baltic*, and never heard of afterwards. With these exceptions, he said, no similar accident had occurred for the last forty years. However this may be, no person, seeing the saucer-like boats in which they make the passage, ballasted only with a

few large and loose stones, and reflecting upon the boisterous weather to which they must be liable in these straits, would think there was much probability of their escape. Perhaps there is no part of the world where boats of the same size carry so much sail; drawing at the same time so little water, that it is likely the smallest sudden squall will upset them. In the depth of winter, this passage may be made upon the ice; but it seldom happens that the sea is here sufficiently frozen before the month of *February;* as it requires many weeks of severe and uninterrupted frost to render it practicable for sledges drawn by horses, or even for hand-sledges. The boats are supplied upon the same plan as the post-horses, by a tax upon the peasants. Every parish is bound to contribute for this purpose. There are eighteen boats belonging to the *Grissehamn* side, and the same number in the Isle of *Åland.*

In the examination of the names of islands and places throughout the curious tract of land and water which intervenes between *Sweden* and *Finland,* it will be seen how necessary a knowledge of the language is to the illustration of the geography and natural history of this region, and to the explanation of some names in our own language. Among the innumerable islets

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Geographical Nomenclature.

with which the mouth of the *Gulph of Bothniâ* is studded, appear as many names terminated by *ö*, as in the north of the same Gulph are terminated by *å*, pronounced like our *o*; yet these terminations have very different significations. *Ö*, pronounced like the *French u*, is very difficult to an *English* tongue, and signifies in itself *an island;* whereas *å*, as it was before mentioned, answering to the *French* word *eau*, signifies *water*. Thus, in the names of the little islands in question, *Aspö* means the *Isle of Asp-trees;* also *Korpö*, the *Crow-island;* and *Brandö*, either the *Burnt-island*, or the island whose shores repel the waves; for *bränd* has two significations, one of which is '*to repel*' or '*drive back.*' There are many other instances. *Notö* signifies the *Isle of Cattle* or *Pasture*. The Isle of *Wardö*, pronounced *Vardö*, means the *Island of the Spring;* and *Utö*, the *Out-island*, or *Insula ultima*. The *Ferro Isles* in the *North Sea* would be written *Fårö* by a *Swede;* because the name implies *Sheep Isles;* and with them, *Får* means *a sheep*, and *ö* an *island.*[1] Indeed, the name

(1) A curious circumstance was mentioned to us in *Norway*, by *Bernard Anker* of *Christiania*, which is foreign to the present subject, but may be here noticed without interrupting the narrative. He told us that *Great Britain* holds the *Orkney Islands* only *in pawn*. Looking over some old deeds and records belonging to the *Danish* Crown at *Copen-*

occurs thus written, *Fårö*, in the Chart of a groupe of Isles south-west of *Åbö*. In the north of *Ireland*, *Fair Head* has doubtless the same signification, being so called from the sheep there pastured.

Dec. 19.—This morning the Gulph was still impassable, from the violence of the gale, which was now contrary, the wind being *north-east* by *east*. Snow had fallen during the night. The mercury in *Fahrenheit*'s thermometer fell at noon 21° below freezing. Towards night the wind veered to the *west*. Many persons arrived at *Grissehamn*, also waiting for a passage.

Friday, *Dec.* 20, proved an eventful day for all of us. It was the sixth day since our arrival at this wretched place; all of which time we might have spent much more advantageously in *Stockholm*, without delaying our progress. Early in the morning, before day-light appeared, our mariners, who belonged to *Åland*, and were impatient to return, came to summon us on

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Copenhagen, Mr. *Anker* found that these islands were consigned to *England* in lieu of a dowry for a *Danish* Princess married to one of our *English* Kings, upon condition that these islands should be restored to *Denmark* whenever the debt, for which they were pledged, should be discharged. Therefore, as the price of land, and value of money, have undergone such considerable alteration since this happened, it is in the power of *Denmark*, for a very small sum, to claim possession of the *Orkneys*.

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board; saying the weather was more mild and the wind somewhat favourable, and that they wished to sail with all possible expedition. After what we had before experienced, it was wrong in us to venture a second time without a certainty of a more tranquil sea; but it was much greater rashness to allow the carriage to be conveyed in the same boat. The *Grissehamn* and *Åland* boats are neither accustomed to the transportation of carriages, nor are they suited to their conveyance. The sight of our vessel, half filled with snow, in which the carriage, propped upon poles, yet rolled about with the slightest motion, reminded us of an old distich, not inapplicable to our present folly, in venturing on board:—

"Seven men of Gotham,
Went to sea in a bowl," &c.

Dangerous situation of the Author and his Companions.

We set sail. The morning was dark; and the shore here is so formed, that the appearance of the horizon and of the sea cannot be discerned until the land has been cleared. The sky looked fearfully red towards the *east*, and as fearfully black towards the *west*, in which quarter the wind was. We expressed our apprehensions to the boatmen; but they said that within four hours they could take us over, and that the

wind would not increase within that time. Scarcely had we cleared the land, when we beheld a sea at which even our *Ålanders* were appalled: at the same time it came on to blow with great violence, the gale gathering force at every instant. But the storm of wind was nothing, compared to the state of the sea; which having been agitated for many days, presented to our astonished boatmen mountains of boiling water. Nothing could more effectually convince us of our serious situation, than seeing the consternation of the crew. We begged them to put back, as they had done before. This they confessed they would gladly accede to, but that it was impossible: that all we could now do was, to bear up to windward, in the hope of making one of the *Åland Isles*, and avoid being driven into the *Baltic*. Within ten minutes after our danger became apparent, every hope seemed to vanish. Our Interpreter, as a seaman in the *East-India* service, had doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and often sailed in storms in the *Atlantic Ocean*, but he confessed he had never beheld such a sea as was here gathered in the *Åland Haf*. One of the *Ålanders*, an experienced sailor, took the helm, and made his comrades lower the foresail. The mainsail could not be dispensed with, as we were falling

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fast to leeward; and without bearing to windward we must inevitably perish. We continued to luff from time to time; but when "the rising world of waters," in mountain-breakers, threatened to overwhelm us, the yells of all our boatmen became a signal to the helmsman to oppose to it the stern of the vessel; and thus, letting her drive before the sea, to fall off to leeward, being carried into a gulph of foam, which broke over both sides of our boat, and covered us with the waves[1]. Half drowned and gasping, we saw far behind us, when we were lifted upon the tops of the billows, another boat in equal distress; and this occasionally disappeared so completely from our view, as to make us believe she had foundered: but when she hove again in sight, she was so far to windward of us that there was not the smallest chance of our being able to reach her by swimming, in case of our being upset: and we afterwards learned, that she had entirely given us over, and had enough to do in baling the water, which filled on her lee-side, to think of rendering us any assistance. The principal part of our distress was attributed, by the boatmen, to the having our carriage on board; and they reproached us on this

(1) See the *Vignette* to this Chapter.

account. Every time the vessel heeled, the weight and swing of this vehicle, propped high in the boat, made her ship more water than she would have done otherwise. We soon came to the resolution of consigning it, with all we had, to the deep, and gave orders to the men to heave it overboard. This was attempted; but they assured us we should sink the vessel in so doing, and abandoned the undertaking. By cutting away, however, the props upon which the carriage was supported, we contrived to lower it upon the ballast, and the vessel laboured less in consequence. Still, however, the storm increased; and the sea washed over us continually. Huddled together near the stern, we could only trust to Providence, and, in the intervals when the sea left us, watch the countenance of our undaunted helmsman. After all, we knew not how our escape was effected, being quite stupified and benumbed by our dreadful situation. All that the author could recollect of the first glimpse of hope was, that, after long struggling in endeavours to recover the vessel's lee-way, the island on which the *Åland* Telegraph is stationed appeared at a great distance to leeward, under the boom of the mainsail. Soon afterwards, getting another island to windward, the sea was thereby rendered somewhat more

Providential escape.

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tranquil, and the boatmen set up a shout, saying, "*Bra! Bra!—Ingen fara! Det har ingen fara*[1]*!*" After this we sailed through the Sound[2], and close to the shore; but could not land on account of the surf. Having passed these islands, we steered for *Ekerö*, the sea being much more calm; and arrived there soon after mid-day. The crew of the other boat met us, and hailed our coming. It consisted of a party with the *Ostero-Bothniå* mail, and a *Swedish* naval officer, who told us he had no expectation that we should have weathered the storm, seeing the manner in which our vessel laboured. His own boat had encountered considerable danger; but it was less burdened, and much more manageable, and had therefore been held in her course, without being driven, as was the case with ours, continually into the trough of the sea.

Aspect of affairs in landing upon Åland.

We had no sooner landed in Åland than every thing wore a new face. The winter had set in, and with great rigour; the ground was covered with snow, and sledges were already in general use. As our carriage was still upon

(1) *Bra!* is an interjection answering to *bravo!* The literal meaning therefore is, "*Bravo! Bravo!—No danger! There is no danger!*"

(2) See the *Chart* of the *Åland Isles.*

Kopparholm
Sandholm
Vano
Hitis
60
50
30
40
50
40

GENERAL CHART
of the whole group of the
ÅLAND ISLES,
in the Mouth of the
GULF OF BOTHNIA:
shewing the nature of the Passage from
SWEDEN to FINLAND,
also the circuitous route performed by the
AUTHOR upon the ICE of the FROZEN SEA
after returning from the isle of
KUMLINGE to the ÖMARSUND
Scale of Swedish Miles shewn by the Compass
Sea of Bothnia
Gulf of Bothnia
Gulf of Finland
Aland Sea
Baltic Sea
Aland Islands
Finland
Sweden
Abo
Nadendal
Lemland
Lumparland
Sottunga
Kumlinge
Kökar
Föglö
Brändö
Vårdö
Hammarland
Jomala
Eckerö
Lemböte
Lappo
Tappersholm
Thurö
Pt. Nidden
Lagskars B.
Lokunds B.
Kumlinge B.
Kökars B.
Lappo B.
Tappersholm B.
Thurö B.
Pt. Nidden B.

wheels, we were compelled to take six horses, and with these we proceeded at a tolerable rate. We reached *Frebbenby* that night. The inhabitants are a stout and hardy race, better clothed, and in all appearance wealthier than the *Swedes* on the western side of the water. The inns are clean; and we observed no symptoms of scarcity. It was, to be sure, the season in which provisions are most abundant, having been collected for the winter store; and we were able to lay in a fresh stock for our own use. We found here *Pontac* wine and ale, with plenty of cold meat, which the frost preserves. The ferries were all frozen up. We crossed an inlet of the sea on foot, and our heavy carriage was drawn over it upon sledges. Of the state of agriculture, in a country entirely covered with snow, we could not well determine, from our own observations. This island produces but little corn; consequently, the natives depend chiefly for their means of subsistence upon their fishing excursions. They exchange a small species of herring, called *Strömming*, with the *Swedes* for corn: they also pasture a very considerable quantity of cattle. The land is level, and inclosed in many parts. The trees are small and low, and, at this time, were almost buried in the snow, which covered every thing.

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Frebbenby.

In the evening, our inn at *Frebbenby* was filled with travellers, wrapped in pelisses, and smoking tobacco. Among others, there arrived from the *Finland* side a *Russian*, Colonel *Rebinin*, with express despatches from the Emperor of *Russia* to the Court of *Stockholm*. He spent the evening with us, and gave us the first specimen of the lofty tone and swaggering airs which so strongly characterize all the agents of the despotic Government to which he belonged. "I bear," said he, "the COMMANDS of the Emperor, my Master, to the King of *Sweden*." He seemed to consider obedience to those *commands*, of whatever nature they might be, as a matter of course. As we had not then undergone any *Russian* discipline, we were not yet tamed into an implicit assent to *Russian* notions and opinions; and this minion of tyranny could not avoid noticing the freedom with which, in our conversation, we delivered our sentiments. He spoke much of the tranquillity and happiness of despotic Governments; and said that *Great Britain* would be ruined for want of rigour. Above all things that had tended to lower our country in the eyes of other nations, he considered the Expedition to *Holland* as the principal. He called it puerile and disgraceful; and maintained (with a degree of warmth that shewed he was more interested

State Messenger of the Court of *Russia*.

in it than as a mere topic of discourse) that it had exposed *England* to the ridicule of the world. At last, it came out that he had served in person upon that occasion, when our allies, the *Russians*, were roughly handled; all of which he imputed (to use one of his mildest expressions) "to the *imbecillity* of our Commander-in-Chief." The only *English* officer of whom he spoke in terms of any approbation, was General *Abercrombie*. And as the anecdotes which he related pass current at the Court of *Petersburg*, we shall mention one; omitting the terms of contumely in which, according to his account, persons of the highest distinction in our army are always spoken of at that Court.

"The *Russians*," said he, "occupied the centre of the allied armies. Upon one occasion, they received orders from the *English* head-quarters to attack the *French* at nine o'clock on the following morning; and were told that the *English* in the right wing were to second this operation. The attack was made, and the *French* were repulsed; the *Russians* afterwards waiting the promised aid of the *English* troops, which did not arrive. Couriers were accordingly despatched, right and left, to bring up the *English* army. At this juncture, the *French*, having received reinforcements, renewed the engage-

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ment, and repeatedly attacked the *Russians* with fresh troops. From nine in the morning until four in the afternoon the *Russian* army was thus exposed, and suffered severely. At four o'clock, General *Abercrombie* arrived with the troops under his command, fought with his wonted bravery, and repulsed the enemy: then going up to the *Russian* General, he burst into tears, saying, "You must think me a poltroon and a traitor; but, by my grey hairs and by these tears, I declare I was kept in ignorance of your intended attack, and had to assemble and to rally my men after your messengers brought me the intelligence."

We have inserted this as a specimen, because it came fresh from the *Russian* Cabinet; suppressing other equally *fair* and *candid* representations, which we also heard, and which were bandied about, to the disadvantage of our countrymen at the Court of *Paul*. The want of success in *Holland* was imputed by all the *Russian* staff, who were present, to the inefficiency of the *English* in military tactics. They affirmed that *England* had no land troops; that the display of *English* infantry was a wretched farce; and that the officers were worse than children. Colonel *Rebinin*, in whom this language and these sentiments were but the echoes of the

Russian Government, considered the truth of his assertions as proved by the very different success of the *Russians* when in *Italy*. "In *Holland*," said he, "we had the best troops from the Emperor's dominions—the grenadiers; all of whom were veterans, and every soldier was a hero. Those sent to *Italy* were the refuse of the army; and with these *Suwarof* almost wrought a miracle. Depend upon it, whenever *Russia* is called upon to act in concert with an *English* army, the remembrance of the treatment she experienced in *Holland* will, at least, make her cautious[1]!"

The next day, *Saturday, Dec.* 21, after our carriage had passed the ice piece-meal, it was put together again; and we set out with six horses from *Frebbenby*, about ten o'clock. The roads were well tracked, but our wheels could hardly be made to turn round. We passed through forests and a level country to *Enkarby*, where we changed horses; and proceeded to *Haraldsby*, passing a ferry about a quarter of a mile from the latter place. Here, finding the

(1) *Russia* has since shewn her *caution*, and redeemed this pledge. But it is grateful to reflect upon the lesson which the subsequent victories of *Great Britain* have taught to the *caution* of the *Russians*; who, in the triumphant march of our heroes to *Paris*, followed in the rear of our army, as mere *lookers-on*; not having contributed, in the smallest degree, to the glorious issue of our contest with *France*.

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rooms clean, and comfortable in their accommodations, we halted. Our host brought some excellent *Pontac* wine, which he offered for sale; but there were no bottles for its conveyance. *Fahrenheit*'s thermometer this day, at noon, was twenty-two degrees and a half below freezing.

Ruins of *Castelholm.*

We left *Haraldsby* on *Sunday* morning, *Dec.* 22, at ten o'clock, and soon after arrived at *Castelholm;* so called from the little insular rock whereon the ruins of a fortress are situate, in which *Eric* XIV. was confined. We approached it by a bridge. It is a building of considerable grandeur, and marvellous, considering the age in which it was erected, when even the palaces of *Sweden* were nothing more than log-houses. It was built with rude masses of a beautiful red *granite;* but the remains of the windows and parts of the walls are of brick-work, which appear to be of later date than the original structure. The *terra-cotta* of the bricks is in itself a curiosity: the most beautiful baked clay of the vases of *Nola* in *Italy* do not surpass it, so pure and homogeneous is its texture. Its colour is of the brightest vermilion; and the bricks, which were evidently shapen by the hand without moulds, seem as if they had been formed of the most plastic wax or butter. The people here are very superstitious: they speak

of ghosts as frequently seen about this castle. Upon the top of the Ruins they shewed to us an apple-tree, which yielded fruit during the preceding summer; but the fruit was suffered to fall, because no one would venture to gather it, or even to touch it. They pretend to shew the room in which *Eric* was incarcerated: and strange tales of dungeons and mysterious passages, leading no one knows where, are of course connected with the narrative related to every stranger who visits these Ruins.

Some Gentlemen, instigated by the curiosity thus excited, were at this time digging in the

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court of the castle; and had discovered a subterraneous duct, somewhat like a passage, the course of which they were endeavouring to explore; but hitherto it had led to nothing. This famous fortress has been several times consumed by fire, and as often rebuilt. Notwithstanding its importance in *Swedish* History, it is seldom mentioned by any author; and it is now sinking fast into a state of oblivion. The *granite* materials of its walls are those of the rocks and islands around it. The very rock on which it stands is of red *granite*. It is everywhere surrounded by water, save only a narrow tongue of land which connects this rock with an adjoining island. As it is not likely that it will ever be restored, we made the annexed sketch of its present appearance. It was built by *Birger Jarl*, father of *Waldemar*, in the thirteenth century. Afterwards it became the residence of the Governors of *Åland*, and continued their place of habitation until the year 1634. During the reign of *Henry of Pomerania*, called *Eric*, in compliment to the *Swedes*, by Queen *Marguerita*, this castle was inhabited by a foreign lady of the name of *Yda*[1]. Under *Eric Pucke*, it was, in consequence of his orders, reduced by *John*

(1) *Acerbi's* Travels, vol. I. p. 189. *Lond.* 1802.

Folkénsen. According to *Puffendorf*, that prince laid siege to it when *Otto Pogwisch* was Governor of *Åland*, who yielded up the fortress upon the King's approach[2]. The year when this event happened (1434) was rendered memorable for the curious watch-words used by *Englebert* of *Fahlun*, in distinguishing foreigners from the natives, when able in other respects to pronounce the *Swedish* language[3]. In 1505, *Castelholm* was given by the Regent, *Suante-Nilson-Sture*, to *Eric*, son of *John Vasa*, and father of *Gustavus the First*; and in this year it was burned by the *Danes*[4]: but being rebuilt, it became the prison of *Eric* XIV. in 1571. In 1556, it was granted, with all the Isles of *Åland*, in fief, to Duke *John*. Afterwards, in 1603, it devolved to *Catherine*, wife of *Gustavus Vasa*. In 1644, it was again desolated by fire. Then it became the property of Queen *Ulrica Eleanora*, the consort of *Charles* XI.; and, having subsequently undergone various fortunes, is reduced to its present state of ruin

(2) Hist. de *Suède*, tom. I. p. 186. *Amst.* 1743.

(3) "*Engelbrecht* donna a ses gens deux mots pour pouvoir distinguer les étrangers, des originaires du Païs. Ces mots étoient, HUID-HEST et KORNGULFT:" de sorte que l'on faisoit main-basse sans aucun quartier, sur ceux qui ne prononçoient pas distinctement ces mots-là." *Ibid.* p. 187.

(4) "Ils entrerent dans la *Finland*, où ils brulerent *Aboo*: ils firent le même traitement à la Ville de *Castelholm* dans la Province d'*Aland*." *Hist. de Suède*, p. 296.

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and decay. The only use now made of it, is as a magazine for containing corn belonging to Government; for which a tax is levied upon the *Ålanders*, and collected in kind.

Skårpans.

After we had gratified our curiosity by seeing these Ruins, we continued our journey to *Skårpans*, distant only about nine *English* miles from *Frebbenby*, and proceeded no farther this day; being compelled to leave our carriage, which was too heavy to be conveyed upon the ice in its present state across the passage of the *Bomarsund:* we therefore entrusted it to the care of the Commissary; and hired what is here called a *Rack*, viz. an open sledge with two seats. The inn at *Skårpans*, like almost all we have seen in *Åland*, was clean and good; but we were grieved to remark, that in proportion as we drew nearer towards *Finland*, we had fewer opportunities of observing that honesty for which the *Swedes* are so remarkably distinguished. The peasants in *Åland* all aim at imposition; and the practice of cheating strangers is common to all the inns upon this route. We had no sooner reached *Skårpans*, than we began to notice this change in the manners of the people. The Commissary had been sent for, to attend the trial of a woman and her accomplice for murdering a pedlar. The poor man had been persuaded to accompany

Change in the Manners of the People.

this female to her cottage, and there they murdered him, burying his body under the floor. A century would elapse in *Sweden* without any similar stain upon the annals of the country. The mode adopted in this country to extort confession from criminals—torture being never practised—is simply confinement upon a diet of bread and water for a certain length of time; which is said to answer the purpose.

Bomarsund.

Monday, Dec. 23, we left *Skårpans,* to cross the *Bomarsund* in the *Rack;* being drawn across the ice by men, in the kind of sledge so called. As soon as we had passed, horses were ready for us, and we continued our gliding progress through the forests. Whenever the inlets of the sea occurred, as the ice was not yet strong enough to bear horses, the peasants harnessed themselves to our sledge, and drew us over the water. In this manner we at length reached the *Vargatta* Sound and the Isle of *Vardö,* and came to a little village, consisting of wretched wooden huts, a number of small windmills, and a church. In passing the *Vargatta* Sound we had an amusing but very striking proof of the immense power and influence of the *Russian* name in these parts; as testified in the marks left in the ice by the simple passage of its Courier, Colonel *Rebinin,* whom we had seen at *Frebbenby.* Being told,

Vargatta Sound.

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upon his arrival at *Vardö*, that the *Vargatta* Sound was frozen up, and that he could not pass until the ice should become stronger, he reproved the peasants for presuming that any thing had power to stop an express Courier of the *Russian* Cabinet: and immediately ordered a passage to be opened; telling them to cut a way through the ice, large enough to admit the passage of a boat; and this merely for the accommodation of a single individual. These men obeyed his orders: being well paid for their work, and well supplied with brandy, they actually effected the undertaking; and the Colonel passed in his boat, by means of the channel thus laid open. We saw the marks of this undertaking, extending for many *English* miles through the ice, as through a solid rock, in this inlet of the sea.

Sledge-travelling.

The first day of our sledge-travelling convinced us of the folly and inconvenience of being pent in close carriages, when performing a winter-journey in such a climate. Never was any mode of travelling more delightful than this of the open sledge. In the carriage we were always complaining of the rigours of the temperature: in the sledge, although exposed to the open air, we found no inconvenience from the utmost severity of the frost. The atmosphere was so clear and dry, that, being well

clothed, the effect of it was charming. An intensity of general cheerfulness seemed to keep pace with the intensity of the season. Brilliant skies; horses neighing and prancing; peasants laughing, and singing—"Fine snow! brave ice! brave winter!" Merry-making in all the villages. Festival-days, with unclouded suns; nights of inconceivable splendour and ineffable brightness; the glorious firmament displaying one uninterrupted flood of light, heightened by an *Aurora Borealis*, while boundless fields of snow reflected every ray. Add to this, the velocity with which the sledge-drawn traveller is made to fly over sea and over land; over lakes and over plains; amidst islands and rocks; through snowy groves and forests bending with the weight of glittering icicles; here winding through thick woods, there at large upon the solid main—"DURUM CALCAVIMUS ÆQUOR;"—in the midst of scenery so novel, but withal so pleasing in the richness, the variety, and the beauty of the effect. The snow too, in itself, is not one of the least of the wonders; for though it be not seen to fall, it gradually accumulates. It was now eight inches deep, and we had not observed a single instance of its descent. From the extreme diminution of temperature in the air, the condensed vapours were frozen into particles so minute,

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that, without adhering together and forming *flakes*, they passed imperceptibly through the clear serene atmosphere, in the state of an invisible *sleet;* which, when agitated by wind, rose from the ground in the form of a fine powder, and seemed as dry as the dust of the desert.

Isle of *Vardö*

When we arrived at *Vargatta*, in the Isle of *Vardö*, we were informed that, at the distance of half a *Swedish* mile from the village, there was a boat waiting to take us to *Kumlinge;* the sea being open on that side of the island; and that two Gentlemen, with whom we had shared our accommodations the preceding evening, were desirous to return our civility by providing for our passage thither. When we reached the spot, however, they were gone; and as there was no other means for our conveyance, we were under the necessity of returning to *Vargatta*, where we put up for the night in a wretched and filthy hovel, the first of the kind we had seen since we left the *Swedish* coast. Nothing in *Lapland* could be worse: yet the poor owners of the hut called it a "*Bra Kammare;*" and we did not wish to make them believe that we were discontented with our accommodations. The evening of the following day, *Dec.* 24, being *Christmas Eve*, which in *Åland* ushers in a night of great festivity and rejoicing, our boatmen, who

were to conduct us in the morning to *Kumlinge*, came to beg that they might start before daylight, lest they should not be able to get back to *Vardö*, to share with their families in the *Christmas* revels. At four o'clock A.M. the shouts of these men summoned us, nothing lothe, to quit the miserable place where we had passed the night; and we hastened with them to the shore. To their disappointment, the wind was directly adverse; and they were forced to pull with oars the whole way, which threatened to delay their return. About two *Swedish* miles, however, from *Vardö*, they descried, to their great joy, the *Ostero-Bothniå* post-boat, coming full sail towards them. Upon this they set up a great shout—"*Ostero-Post! Ostero-Post!*" and, waiting its coming with great eagerness, asked our permission to exchange cargoes. The men in the other boat were equally eager to get back to their own island, and for the same reason—to keep the festival of *Christmas Eve*. As soon, therefore, as the two parties met, the exchange was effected. But the author, hearing from the *Kumlinge* boatmen that the *Lappvesi* Channel, in the passage towards *Åbo*, was open—which had been reported as frozen over, and the wind being fair for *Vardö*, determined to leave his companion with the *English* servant to proceed to

The Party embark across the *Delen* for *Kumlinge*.

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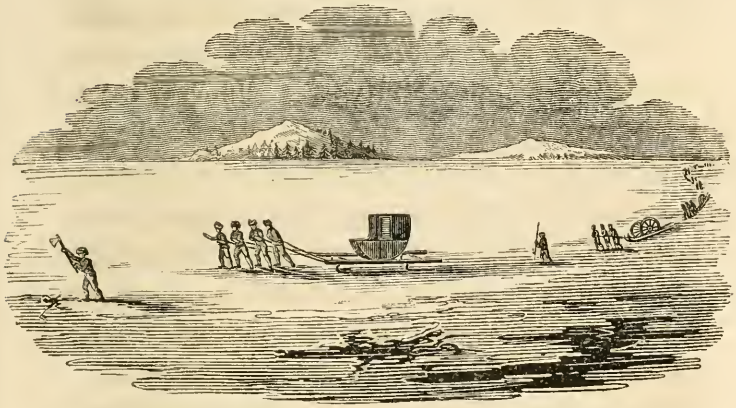
The author induced to return to *Skårpans*.

Kumlinge, and return with the *Vardö* boatmen and the *Swedish* interpreter for the carriage which had been left, with almost all our effects, beyond the *Bomarsund*. With this view he set sail again for *Vardö*; where, taking guides, he crossed again the *Vargatta* Sound, and the *Bomarsund*, upon the ice; and arrived again at *Skårpans* at four o'clock in the afternoon; at which hour it was quite dark. The guides had expressed their fears, the whole way, of not being able to get back for the feast. Hearing this complaint so often repeated, the author asked what it was that they were to enjoy, which they deemed so desirable; and was answered, "A belly-full of brandy!" *Christmas Eve*, however, is kept all over *Sweden* and *Finland* with peculiar circumstances of festivity. The people, even the lowest and poorest of the inhabitants, join in the general conviviality; those who can best afford it, inviting the rest; so that no one is omitted.

Festivities of Christmas Eve.

The next morning, that of *Christmas Day*, having assembled twenty-five of the peasants, provided with poles, ropes, and axes, and having placed the carriage upon four sledges, we began our expedition across the Sounds. The difficulties we expected to encounter seemed to vanish as a dream: by half after ten, A.M. the carriage,

followed by sledges bearing the axle, wheels, trunks, and baggage, together with the whole of our party, had safely passed the *Bomarsund*, and all the inlets of the sea before arriving at the *Vargatta*, the largest field of ice we had to go over. Here we diminished the number of peasants attending upon the body of the carriage, to four; as the ice was more likely to give way in this passage: and we allotted the same number of men to the sledge conveying the axle; suffering only one sledge to proceed at the same time;



all the rest following cautiously at a distance from each other, and all being drawn by men instead of horses. Then, by sending forward a single peasant with a large and heavy axe to try the strength of the ice in all places where there was any danger to be apprehended—and taking each of us a rope, to animate the men—we set out.

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Sometimes we were forced to deviate a little from the straight line of our route, in consequence of open places through which the sea appeared, and also when warned, by our pioneer, of thin ice giving way to the blows of his ponderous axe: but by half-after-eleven the entire train of our sledges had cleared all the passes. We then went up to the village of *Vargatta*, to hire horses for conveying our different burdens by land about five *English* miles beyond that village to the sea-shore of the passage to *Kumlinge*, where the water was open. By one o'clock the whole retinue had reached *Vargatta;* whence we set out again; and, after crossing a small lake, continued our progress, through a forest, to the sea-side, where we found an inlet so frozen as to bear the passage of the carriage &c. to a rock, from which with little difficulty it might be put into one of the boats on the following morning. Having conveyed the carriage to this rock, it was supported upon the top of it by means of poles applied to the sides, together with the axle, wheels, the imperial, and several trunks. Night now came on; and, as it was necessary that some one should remain to guard our effects, we hired a peasant for this purpose, and allowed him to remain sheltered by sitting within the carriage. No sooner had we closed the door

upon this man, and consigned him to his post, than, as if at one explosion of a tempest, a strong north-east wind, accompanied by the first snow we had seen falling, came on to blow with stormy violence. We felt very indifferent, little thinking that this gale would put a stop to our projects for the next day; and getting into a sledge, were conducted back to *Vargatta*, rejoicing in having, as we imagined, so completely secured the conveyance of the carriage to *Kumlinge*; whence we might proceed, without further interruption, to *Åbo*, in FINLAND.—The sequel will shew how greatly we were deceived.

In the morning, the wind, which had raged like a hurricane all night, blew with undiminished violence. Our mariners refused to stir towards the sea; alleging that the boats would fill and founder, even before they could get from the shore. An Extra-post arrived: and as the peasants conveying it also refused to put to sea, we became satisfied that nothing could be done. The whole of this day, *Dec.* 26, and the following night, the same tempest continued with unabated fury: but about six o'clock on the morning of *Dec.* 27, having continued for thirty-six hours, it ceased as suddenly as it came on. The interpreter had been sent, on the preceding day, to ascertain the safety of the carriage and other

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effects upon the rock, and also to report the state of the sea. He returned, saying that all was well; that ice had accumulated along the coast, to the distance of about three boats' length from the place where it was proposed we should embark; but that if the storm did not remove it before morning, it would be no difficult matter to cut through it.

Village of *Vardö*.

Before daylight appeared we proceeded to the little village of *Vardö;* whence the island so called is named, and where the Post-house is situate. As we entered the hovel called the Post-house—for we can give it no better name—we were told that the Extra-post messengers were not yet come: we therefore had to wait for their arrival: and this delay gave us an opportunity of seeing a little of the interior economy of one of these dwellings, in its most undisguised state. A more curious sight could hardly be imagined. At our entrance, nobody was up. The members of the family held a conversation with our boatmen, but we saw none of them. The floor of the only room they had, and of which we had taken possession, was covered with straw and sedge, according to the custom of the country at *Christmas,* and once a practice, even in Kings' houses, in *England.* Peeping from behind their hiding-places, as soon as they perceived that strangers

Interior of an *Åland* dwelling.

had entered this apartment, they were all stirring: and presently there fell out from every side of the room the naked figures of men, women, boys, and girls, who had been piled in tiers one above another, as in a ship's cabin; being concealed from view by so many sheep-skins, which were suspended as curtains before their cots. This motley groupe, amounting in all to thirteen persons, without a rag to cover them, squatted themselves upon the floor in the middle of the chamber, and began altogether the business of their brief toilette. The women put on two pairs of woollen hose, and over these a pair of greasy boots. The toilette being ended, they all with one accord began to blow their noses into the palms of their hands, and to wipe them upon their clothes. Then the men kindled their tobacco-pipes; and a universal hawking and spitting commenced. Nor were the women unoccupied; for a large fire being lighted, the females of the family quietly took up their petticoats, and sate before it, very leisurely gartering their stockings. This being done, a girl now handed round their breakfast: it consisted of, first, a dram to each person, served in a small silver cup; secondly, a portion of black biscuit, with about two ounces of fresh butter. At this meal they sate without ceremony or

Breakfast of the Natives.

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order, each where and with whom he pleased, chatting and laughing in groupes, apparently contented and happy. It was rather new, to see mothers with children at their breasts disengage their tender infants from the nipple, to pour down their little throats a portion of the dram which came to the mother's share; but still more remarkable to see these young dram-drinkers lick their lips, roll their eyes about, and stretch out their puny hands, as craving more; shewing how accustomed they were to this beverage. Perhaps the practice may explain the frequency of dwarfs in the Northern countries of *Europe;* as in *Poland, Russia,* and *Sweden.* But the author, venturing a mild remonstrance upon seeing an affectionate mother pouring brandy down her child's throat, was told, "It is good for them: our children are not troubled with wind or with rickets; and our adults," giving one of the sturdy peasants a notable thump, "see how hardy and healthy they are!" There was no reply to such an appeal; for of the *Ålanders,* in general, it may be said, that a more vigorous race can hardly be found; and all of them have imbibed with their milk their morning drams of brandy. It is in scenes like that which the interior of this hut exhibited, the mind is forcibly struck with a

conviction of the relative nature of human happiness; that it belongs to no rank or situation in life as a peculiar possession; but that in all stations, gifted with health and virtue and just government, Providence has vouchsafed an equal portion of this blessing. As certainly as the poor native of *St. Kilda*, torn from his bleak and barren rock in the Atlantic, would pine and die through languishing for his home[1], although transported into a land of luxury and abundance; so would every individual of the groupe here assembled refuse to exchange his morning whet, of black biscuit and brandy, for the choicest dainties cities and towns might offer.

The peasants appointed to convey the Extra-post now entered, and the little hut was full of company. "*God dagen! God morgon!*[2]" being exchanged on all sides, we somewhat eagerly interrupted the etiquette, by asking if they were ready to put to sea? "Ready enough!" was the answer, "if we CAN put to sea! But we have heard nothing of the sea, as we came along; and therefore we think the sea is frozen." —"What!" said the author, "in one night?

(1) "He longed to see his native country again."—*Martin's (Account of a St. Kildian brought to Glasgow) Western Islands of Scotland, p.* 298. *Lond.* 1703.

(2) "Good day! Good morning!"

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Impossible!"—"Come along with us, Sir! we shall quickly learn the truth." And with this we all hastened out of the hut, got into our sledges, and made towards the shore. What was our dismay and astonishment, as our sledge cleared the forest through which we were driving, and the view opened towards the *east*, to behold the sea, as far as the eye could reach, with its rough waves fixed, and all its rocks and distant isles locked in one wide field of ice; while, at the same time, the chilling exclamations of all our boatmen, crying out, in equal amazement, "*Gud bevara! Gud bevara!*[1]" announced that every hope of getting to *Kumlinge* was at an end for an indefinite length of time. The ice of the sea, when it first fixes, is so rotten, that no one dares to venture upon it, until a sufficient degree of hardness and solidity has been given to it by a subsequent freezing of the water below the surface. This, of course, happens sooner or later, according to circumstances. In the passage between *Grissehamn* and *Ekerö*, it sometimes does not occur during a whole winter, although the sea seem covered with ice. On venturing a little way from the shore, to try the strength of the ice, we found

A turbulent sea frozen in one night.

(1) "God save us! God save us!"

even the roughest parts of the surface yielding to our feet, like a soft sop. All this had been occasioned by the fall of snow upon the evening of our arrival with the carriage. From what we learned afterwards, and from the information the peasants gave us, it was evident that nothing tends so effectually towards the freezing of the sea as a fall of snow into the salt-water[2]. At this time of the year, when the temperature is nearly that required to effect the freezing up of these passages, a fall of snow is sure to bring this to pass; although an instance had seldom occurred in which the wide opening between *Vardö* and *Kumlinge* was thus suddenly rendered solid. Near the shore, it seemed to have been the work of an instant; the waves being caught by the intensity of the frost, and fixed upon the surface in all their undulating forms. Further out, where there had been less of surf, the ice was more level; and, perhaps, if we could have reached it, at this distance from the land, possessed much greater solidity and firmness. What the temperature had been this night, we did not ascertain; but the visible effect of such

(2) A more particular description of this effect, as produced by the mixture of *snow* with *sea-water*, will be given in the sequel. The well-known freezing-mixture of *snow* with *common salt* acts upon the same principle.

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a frost, in the sudden change it had wrought upon a turbulent sea, is sufficient to prove that the mercury must have fallen much below the *zero* of *Fahrenheit*'s scale. At noon this day, it rested exactly at that point; being thirty-two degrees and a half below freezing.

In this dilemma, the only resource left, was to rely upon the exertions of the peasants conveying the Extra-post;—men who have undertaken a charge of this nature being compelled to proceed at all hazards, if there be a possibility of their making way. They said they would attempt to cut a passage into the open sea, two miles more towards the south. We accompanied them in this undertaking: but after driving a sledge for fourteen *English* miles over ice and snow, the project was abandoned.

The situation in which the author was thus placed was by no means enviable: and as he turned back once more to his wretched accommodations at *Vargatta*, the consciousness that his friend and companion was left, by his management, upon a bleak and inhospitable island—cut off from all connexion with any one who could converse with him, and procure for him the common necessaries of life—added to the bitterness of the disappointment. On the author's arrival, the people of the place, anxious to

render every kind office which it was in their power to bestow, crowded about him, proffering their services in any way they might be useful. They assured him, that, if the frost held unbroken, it would not be long before they might all walk to *Kumlinge:* adding, that in the preceding winter the ice first began to spread over upon a *Wednesday*, and that upon the following *Saturday* they made the passage in their sledges. In this solitary state, not knowing what course to pursue, the author determined to recross the *Bomarsund*, and take up his abode in the first place of lodging he could find, where he might wait the event. For this purpose, after again passing the ice, and landing upon the south-east part of the island, he went to a small inn about three *English* miles and a half from the shore, where he resolved to remain until a passage might be attempted to *Kumlinge*.

Southern passage to *Kumlinge*.

There is what is called a south passage to *Kumlinge*, sometimes attempted when the ice is thin, although more than double the distance of the other. The islands in that route being more numerous, and the straits narrower, travellers are sometimes able to effect a passage here, when the other is impracticable. If they be able to accomplish it, they generally employ two days in the undertaking. Then they take

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a small boat with them; dragging it along where the ice will bear, and forcing a way through where it yields. Three years ago some peasants attempted this passage, with a party of travellers going to *Kumlinge*; and they reached that island in safety, after very great fatigue: but these poor peasants, in returning, having laboured until they were quite exhausted, found their boat locked into the ice, at a great distance at sea; and were unable to quit the vessel, the ice not being strong enough to bear them. Fortunately they had a frying-pan in the boat, in which they kindled a fire; consuming for fuel every thing combustible they could lay their hands upon, even to the oars of their boat. Despair and hunger at length emboldened them to venture forth, the frost becoming exceedingly severe; when, after many trials and hardships and hair-breadth escapes, they were fortunate enough to reach the shore.

Upon *Dec.* 28, the author sent the *Swedish* interpreter to *Vargatta*, and to the *eastern* coast of *Vardö*, to examine the state of the sea. He returned in four hours, having ordered a sledge to be constructed in *Vargatta* for the better conveyance of the carriage. He brought the welcome news, that the peasants having examined the state of the ice with a telescope, were convinced of its

reaching, in one unbroken field, the whole way to *Kumlinge;* distant from the Isle of *Vardö* twenty-one *English* miles. He also added, that, upon the following day, a peasant would endeavour to walk over the *Delen,* with a letter. This intelligence, although it proved delusive, excited considerable hope in the author's mind of being released from his present state of durance. A wolf had passed close to the house in the night, and had left very visible marks of the track he had pursued. The peasant to whom this dwelling belonged, sallied forth in pursuit of the wolf, armed with his gun; and the author—as the man promised to shew the way to some rocks where he said *crystals* might be found—accompanied him upon this expedition. In the forest there was neither wolf, nor bird, nor living creature to be seen; but the tracks of wolves and hares were visible in the snow. The rocks in some places under the trees were sufficiently bare to exhibit their geological nature: they consisted of a beautiful *granite:* but all the component parts of *granite* may be found in *Åland;* either as simple minerals in a detached state, or combined in an aggregate rock: of this there are many examples. Detached masses of *mica* and of *hornblende* may be observed among the building materials in the Ruins of

Geological features of Åland.

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Castelholm. The beautiful clay of which the bricks in that fortress were manufactured, may have originated in decomposed *feldspar*. Masses of pure *quartz*, of *feldspar*, and of *hornblende*, also present themselves; together with every variety of association which these different minerals can exhibit. The *crystals* which the guide had mentioned were by him pointed out: they proved to be common hexagonal *crystals* of *quartz*, in a matrix of *quartz* and brick-red *feldsapr*. The *granite* of *Åland* occurs in compact masses, lying perfectly horizontal, and without any appearance of dipping or inclination: it breaks readily, and near the surface exhibits the marks of decomposition; sometimes shivering in its fracture, like *trapp*.

Dec. 29.—Sent a peasant to examine the state of the sea; who returned with the disagreeable news, that the *Delen* was not completely frozen over, and that the Extra-post still remained unable to proceed.—Determined therefore, at all events, to attempt a passage on the following day, by the circuitous southern route.

Manners of the *Ålanders* in winter.

The manners of the people in *Åland*, during the increasing severity of the winter season, shew what erroneous notions we are apt to entertain of the lives and customs of the natives of these Northern regions; where imagination pic-

tures a dreary scene, with all its inhabitants close pent in their dwellings, like hibernating animals, sleeping throughout the winter, and anxious only to guard against the rigours of the frost. The fact is quite otherwise: they are all abroad, in a state of the most lively activity, and of easy revelry. They are not, it is true, engaged in labouring for their bread, but in consuming what they have acquired by their industry during the summer. It is, with them, the season of visiting and travelling to the most distant markets. The roads are full of passengers of all sorts and ranks, from the itinerant shoemaker and tailor, to the diplomatical agents and messengers of Court Cabinets. The coming into a family circle of the wandering botchers of tailors and jobbing coblers, which always happens at this time of the year, is an event of great importance. These men travel from house to house; staying as long as they find employment, and then sallying forth in search of more work: consequently they are the bearers of all news and gossiping tales of the country—how folks live and thrive in the neighbouring isles; what girls have found husbands; with all the rest of their budget, of births, deaths, accidents by fire and water, tales of apparitions by land and sea, bankruptcies, jokes, and scandal. While

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they remain in a house, they become members of the family, who entertain a regard for them as friends always welcome, and generally dismiss them with regret.

Number of inhabitants.

The inhabitants of the *Åland* Isles amount to between five and six thousand. There are nine hundred families: and allowing, upon an average, six persons in each family, the number will about equal what has been stated. The agricultural produce of the land is trifling; but they carry on a considerable trade in several kinds of fish, which are carried in well-vessels, and fatted in reservoirs at *Stockholm*. The first dish at table, in almost all *Swedish* families at *Stockholm*, is a small fish called *stroemling*, which is reckoned a great delicacy: it is eaten generally with vinegar. Abundance of the *stroemling* are taken by the *Ålanders* in their fisheries: they also take a great number of *seals*. Their fish they exchange for corn, both at *Stockholm* and *Upsala*. They are supplied from *Stockholm* with two sorts of beer: one of which is brewed in imitation of *English* porter, and is a most detestable and unwholesome composition: the other, a more simple beverage, has a fault common to all the *Swedish* beer, that of not being boiled enough when it is brewed. The land in *Åland* presents to the eye a gently-undulating

surface, full of rocks, intersected by numerous bays, sounds, and inlets of the sea, which seem like large lakes, and covered in part with thin and low forests. Beggars, so rare in *Sweden*, are very common here. The best-conditioned inhabitants are the Clergy. The innkeeper at *Skårpans* possessed twenty cows, yet this man was nothing more than a peasant. The poorest of the peasants keep cows, because they have the free pasturage, or rather browsing, of the forests during summer; and in winter they are housed and fed upon such fodder as these islands very plentifully produce — hay, birch-boughs, and the leaves of other trees. In the winter, the cows are let out to be watered and fed; being fed three times a-day — morning and evening in their stalls in the cow-house, and at noon out of doors. The joy of these poor animals, when the moment arrives for their being brought out into the open air, is so great, that they disregarded even their food, for the delight of rubbing themselves against the rails, and butting against each other, during the half hour that they have their liberty.

Land-measurers— their destructive influence and depredations.

Among the better-conditioned inhabitants, besides the Clergy, there are a set of men called *Land-measurers*, found all over *Sweden*, depriving the natives of their property, and creating more

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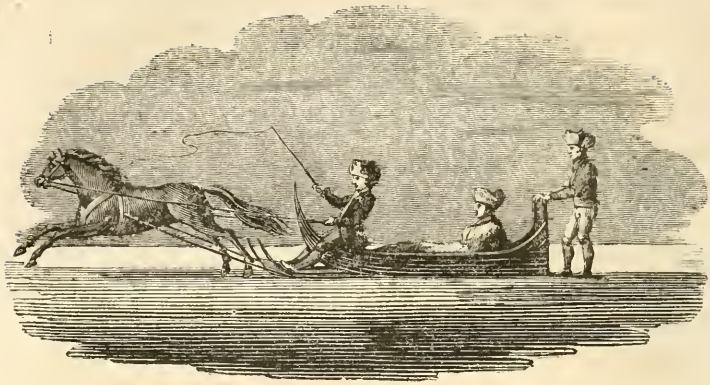
mischief among the people than twice the same number of Country Attorneys would do in *England*. It will perhaps be difficult to give an accurate idea of the power and influence of these harpies in *Sweden;* nor is it possible to conceive a class of men calculated to cause more real evil in any country, or to prove more oppressive. The land of the peasants, although inclosed, is frequently so divided, that a number of small strips or portions of it, belonging to different individuals, may be contained within the same inclosure. As the only distinctive boundary in such cases is a land-mark—such, for example, as a small trench dug in the earth, or a stake driven into the ground—it will often happen that these marks disappear; and encroachments being made, disputes begin among the farmers, as to the limits of their property. Upon these occasions, an appeal is immediately made to the *Land-measurer*, who takes care to fleece both parties before the business is settled. But the mischief does not end here. The rapacious *Land-measurer* is a man of luxury, of profligate and voluptuous manners, keeps a good table, invites his friends, drinks and sometimes plays deeply—and, to support the extravagance of his establishment, money is absolutely necessary. To obtain this, therefore, he hints to a

peasant that his land has not been fairly laid out, and that it may be more profitably arranged for him;—at which his neighbour becomes irritated. A dispute ensues, which is artfully fomented; the *Land-measurer* receiving bribes from both parties. Each tries to injure the other, and is ready to lavish the half of his property to satisfy the vengeance thus excited; the property of the one being encroached upon exactly in the proportion that the other is able to feed the avarice of the pretended mediator; who carries on his schemes, until he has exhausted, and perhaps ruined, one or both of the disputants. In the interior provinces of *Sweden*, if a house be seen better than common, or a carriage or a horse cut a better figure than usual, it is generally the property of a *Land-measurer*. Prowling about, like wolves seeking whom they may devour, the very coming of these men among the *Swedish* farmers always prognosticates calamity: and it is surprising, that, in a country so prone to revolution and change of system, these injurious plunderers and disturbers of the public peace should have been so long allowed to carry on their depredations.



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CIRCUITOUS JOURNEY, ON THE SEA, TO KUMLINGE.

The Author determines to undertake the Southern Circuitous Route—Introduces his Personal Narrative of that Expedition — Grundsunda — Bergo — *Simplicity of the Natives* — *Increase of Wolves* — *Seal-hunters* — *Safety-pikes*—*The Author deserted by his Guides*—*arrives at* Mushaga—*Ravages of the Small-pox*—*Mode of forcing a passage through the Ice*—*Remarkable effect of Snow falling in Sea-water*—*Natural Cave of Ice*—Såttunga —*Description of the Inhabitants*—*Swedes of* Åland— Finlanders—*Remains of antient and pure* Swedish—*its resemblance to* English — *Seal-skin Sandals* — *Winter occupations of the* Ålanders—*Preparations for a journey on the ice to* Kumlinge—*Description of the Procession*

on

on leaving Sattunga—*Encounter with the Seal-hunters —Change of route—Scene exhibited at mid-day—Arrival at* Kumlinge—*The Author terminates his Personal Narrative.*

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After various inquiries among the peasants and messengers who had been sent to ascertain the state of the sea in what is called the *Sjön Delen*, between the Isle of *Vardo* and *Kumlinge*, it was determined to attempt the southern passage by the circuitous route of *Sättunga*. As in this undertaking, the most hazardous in which the author was ever engaged, he was of necessity compelled to bear a very principal part, he makes no apology for the frequent allusions to himself which unavoidably occur. He was more than once deserted by his companions, and left to make his way over a frozen sea alone: the incidents he has to relate, therefore, become more than usually restricted in their reference; for which reasons he proposes, in giving an account of this expedition, to alter the style of the narrative, and to make it personal, by transcribing *verbatim* the description given of it as it occurs in his own manuscript journal.

Dec. 30.—In the evening of this day, I sallied forth in a small sledge drawn by one horse, with *Peter* the *Swedish* interpreter, and a single peasant

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mounted behind, in the hope of getting the same night as far as *Vargatta*[1]. We passed the doubtful surface of the three *Sounds* which constitute the *Bomarsunds Fjerd,* upon the ice, by starlight; and arrived safe at *Vargatta*[2]. There was a dance in the village, at which *Peter* attended[3]: and upon his return, he brought me word that a farmer from the Isle of *Sandö* had been present at the dance, who had crossed the ice to *Vargatta,* and who gave it out that the *Sjön Delen* was frozen over. Upon this intelligence, several sailors, and captains of merchantmen, whose vessels were all locked in by the ice, and who were waiting in the village for a passage to *Finland,* came to the resolution of venturing on foot by the *northern* passage, and asked me to accompany them. Fortunately, I refused their invitation: for although they attempted to reach *Kumlinge* by this route, they never arrived there: and I could not afterwards learn what became of them. In the morning, as soon as daylight appeared, I set out to explore the

(1) See the Vignette to this Chapter.

(2) The last of these *Sounds* is sometimes called that of *Vargatta,* by which name it was distinguished in the former chapter.

(3) The national Dances of *Sweden* are; the *Waltz,* with various modifications; the *Polska,* or *Polish* Dance, differing from that of *Norway* in having slower movements; also *Minuets,* which are practised in *Dalecarlia,* and are frequent among the lower orders.

southern way; and getting into a sledge, drove to the little village of *Grundsunda*, where we were told that the ice might be safely passed to the Isle of *Bergo:* but as the people here are rarely able to give any accurate information with regard to places a *Swedish* mile from their own homes, they could say nothing of the state of the ice beyond *Bergo*.

Grund-sunda.

My journey upon the sea to the Isle of *Bergo* presented one of the most novel and striking scenes I had ever beheld. The ice, instead of being rough and opake, as before, was smooth and glassy as a mirror; and it is quite marvellous how the horses, although purposely shod for the undertaking, can find a footing upon such a surface. In some places, the transparencies being perfect, and a bright light permeating the abyss, towering rocks of *granite* were seen rising through the deep, towards the crystal plain over which we glided. To stop, and cast a glance below, would have made the boldest quake, who has been unaccustomed to sights like these. When we reached the midway of this fearful expanse, some degree of alarm was excited by the conduct of our guides; who, upon coming to a chasm which the settling of the surface had left in the ice, halted, positively declaring that they would venture no farther. Instances of

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superstition, and consequent timidity, among the natives of these islands, had occurred before, but they were too trivial to merit notice; and upon the present occasion it was hoped that a little persuasion would get the better of their panic. They considered the opening of this chasm as an unfavourable omen; and, declaring they should no longer be able to find a safe footing, determined to return; and left us. I remained, with *Peter*, in the possession of a sledge, with one of their horses; and having with little difficulty succeeded in getting over the chasm, we drove on, and arrived at *Bergo* without encountering any other obstacle. Over the whole of the wide waste we had passed, there was not an animal, nor any living creature to be seen, excepting *wolves*, crossing, among distant rocks, from isle to isle, in search of prey: and even these we should have mistaken for large dogs, if the peasants, before they deserted us, had not directed our attention towards them, and told us what they really were.

Bergo.

Simplicity of the Natives.

At *Bergo* we had an example of the remarkable simplicity and ignorance of the natives of these islands, especially of those which lie out of the common route of passing travellers. Accustomed to see only the inhabitants of the neighbouring shores, our coming, without any

of the guides, excited fear as well as wonder. The little village of the island consists of half-a-dozen wooden huts, perched, in a very irregular manner, amidst a cluster of naked rocks. The few male inhabitants belonging to this settlement were out upon the sea, dragging their nets under the ice; which is their usual mode of fishing at this season of the year. In the dwelling that we entered, an old woman and her daughters were spinning; and a boy was feeding a favourite hog, coaxing the animal, and calling it by all manner of endearing names. The sight of two strangers, who, for ought they could tell, might have dropped from the moon, for a few minutes interrupted their tranquillity. *Peter,* who addressed them in *Swedish,* was not on this account a whit better received:—"We might be any body, for any thing they could tell. Why did we not go away?" At this moment, our former guides, whether afraid of losing their horse and sledge, or ashamed of what they had done, came dropping in; and then immediately things wore a new face. Such a chattering ensued, that it might be compared to the noise of a rookery. The old woman and her daughters immediately fell to work, and prepared a dinner for these men, of bacon, and *blood-sausages,* which are esteemed a great deli-

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cacy. One of the girls now stepped forward, offering to act as a guide in our way to *Foglö*; to which island, I learned with amazement, it was necessary that we should penetrate, although lying so far to the south[1], before we should be able to alter our course, and bear up for *Såttunga*. They would not allow us a single horse to draw one of their sledges: not because the ice was unequal to its weight, but for this reason, which they assigned—that, in returning, the *wolves* would infallibly take it from the girl and devour it. Five of these ferocious animals, they said, had prowled about their dwelling for two nights successively. The great increase of *wolves* among these islands, and in all *Sweden* and *Finland*, of late years, is one of the most remarkable events that have occurred in the history of the country. This change began in the time of *Linnæus*; who, in his *Fauna Suecica*[2], having mentioned the *wolf* as common in the *Swedish* woods, adds these words—"*Ante* 26 *annos, rarius animal in Sueciâ.*" The *wolves* have since become such a nuisance, as to call the attention of Government towards their destruction[3]. In the north of *Sweden*, they make their

Increase of Wolves.

(1) See the Chart annexed of the *Åland* Isles.

(2) *Fauna Suecica*, p. 5. *L. Bat.* 1746.

(3) At the very moment in which this chapter was printing, Mr. *Michaelson* from *Stockholm*, visiting *Cambridge*, informed the author that a general

attacks in such formidable numbers, as to drive the inhabitants, especially the *Laplanders*, from their Settlements. The *Swedish* Missionaries settled in *Lapland*, ignorant of the true cause of their increase, which is unknown, attribute their coming to the war with *Russia*, which disturbed, they say, these animals in their haunts, and drove them from the extensive forests of *Finland*.

The mercury in *Fahrenheit*'s thermometer did not descend lower at noon, this day, than eleven degrees and a half below freezing; but as the distance was great to *Foglö*, and that distance always doubled by the frequent circuitous deviations we had to make, owing to the chasms and open places in the ice, it was sufficient to deter me from attempting the task of drawing the sledge myself; and therefore, upon being refused a horse, we persuaded the men who had followed us from *Vargatta* to bear a hand in this undertaking, and proceed with us to *Foglö*. This island lies far to the south of *Bergo*[4], quite

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general hunt for the destruction of *wolves* is to take place next year, by order of the *Swedish* Government. In the provinces of *Jemteland*, *Herjeädalen*, and *Gästrikeland*, the number of *wolves* has amazingly increased: in one of these provinces they have devoured eight children within the last winter: and they have advanced from the northern provinces, southward, so as to make their incursions within the very neighbourhood of *Stockholm*.

(4) See the Chart of the *Åland* Isles.

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in an opposite direction from that which I wished to pursue with a view of reaching *Kumlinge*. Having mustered our forces, and placed our baggage upon a single sledge drawn by the *Vargatta* peasants, we set out on foot, passing through a forest of much finer trees than I expected to see among these bleak little islands. Hence we descended towards the sea; and were soon once more upon its frozen surface, with the same wide and chilling prospect of the space we had to traverse. Presently our guides hailed some seal-hunters, whom they recognised upon the dreary main, engaged in their usual occupation. These men answered the summons; and coming towards us, said that it might be possible to reach *Mushaga*[1] without making the long deviation towards *Foglö*; and that, at all events, as the distance would, in the event of our success, be greatly shortened, they advised our making the trial. As they best knew the state of the ice, and the course it would be necessary to pursue in order to reach *Mushaga*, we asked them to accompany us; to which they readily agreed. I mention these trivial circumstances, to shew how little reliance can be placed upon the very best guides among

Seal-hunters.

(1) See the Chart of the *Åland* Isles.

E. Bellard sculp.

SEAL SHOOTER ON THE FROZEN SEA.

London Published Aug 6th 1821 by T. Cadell in the Strand

the *Ålanders*, when the ice is in a doubtful state; for these very men were the first to desert me afterwards, when their services were most wanted. The fact is, that the same persons who would venture through the most turbulent seas in the dangerous storms to which the mouth of the *Gulf of Bothniå* is liable, and in boats which are any thing but sea-worthy, are often cowards upon the ice; and perhaps for this reason, that the skill and dexterity which enable them to encounter winds and waves are of no avail here.

We now directed our icy pilgrimage towards *Mushaga*, by an *eastern* instead of a *southern* course; our *seal-hunters* taking the lead with their iron-shod pikes, and often leading us a weary circuit, to avoid the openings and hazardous places of thin ice, by which we were compelled to deviate from the direct line of our march. The pikes used to ascertain the safety of a passenger are about six feet in length, having at the lower extremity an iron spike with a sharp and strong hook. The spike is used to try the thickness of the ice. If, after two or three stabs with this iron spike, the water do not spout up, the ice will bear a horse; and if it do not rise after a single blow, but appears only after a second stroke, it is con-

Safety-pikes.

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sidered as fit to support a man. The hook attached to this spike is for the purpose of dragging out the bodies of those who are unfortunate enough to slip through the crevices, or fall into the holes, which are deceitfully covered with a thin icy superficies. These accidents are generally owing to the snow, which, by covering such places, prevents a person from being aware of the sudden danger he may encounter from a neglect of sounding often with his pike. Every individual of our party was provided with one of these safety-pikes; although the chief use of them is for those who precede and act as pioneers, who plunge their pikes into the ice incessantly, at every step, in order to make the way sure. If the foremost man give an alarm, the rest of the party fall back, and disperse as quickly as possible; taking care not to collect together upon one spot. We had many of these alarms; and our weary walk continued throughout the whole day a journey of painful suspense and apprehension, never free from danger; being often farthest from the land when we appeared to be the nearest to it, in consequence of the circuitous deviations we were compelled to make, in order to obtain a footing. About half after two o'clock P. M. we were within sight of *Mushaga;* but the

difficulty of reaching the shore increased as we approached. Presently we could discern the figures of several of the natives, standing upon a high coast among the rocks, regarding our movements with an earnest attention. We soon found the reason of the interest we had excited: the ice, as we advanced, appeared almost everywhere open; and became so thin, that our pikes brought up water at every stroke. It certainly was not a moment for much ceremony, and the guides used none; for the seal-hunters falling back with precipitation, the *Vargatta* peasants dispersed also, followed by the interpreter, who, in spite of all my remonstrances, left me in this terrible juncture, to shift for myself. In such a situation, the presence of any one, it is true, could only serve to increase the danger; and for a moment I was almost bewildered. To turn back again, and retrace our former footsteps, at this late hour of the day, over fields of ice extending nearly thirty *English* miles, would require more strength than I could then muster, exhausted as I was already by fatigue. I saw no alternative but that of persevering, at all hazards, another quarter of a mile; and slowly ventured on towards *Mushaga*, sometimes working my way nearly a mile in order to gain an approach of twenty yards. At every stroke of

The Author deserted by his Guides.

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my pike, the water gushed through the orifice it made; until the ice beginning to bend with my weight, I was afraid to use it. By perseverance, however, I had gained a very near approach to the land, which gave me spirits and courage: the ice became stronger—then weaker: at last I reached the rocks, covered also with ice; and, in my eagerness to climb their slippery surfaces, sustained many severe falls, one of which brought me headlong back again upon the sea. The people collected on the shore now descended to my assistance; and the guides who had deserted me, ashamed of being left behind by a stranger, after various attempts, following my footsteps, arrived also at *Mushaga*. Here we found the sea quite open; the ice only extending an *English* mile from the shore: some other expedient, therefore, to reach the open water with a boat was now become necessary.

Arrival at *Mushaga*.

We entered a miserable cottage. The scene of human woe which was here presented, perhaps never had its equal. We found within, a wretched family; amongst whom were seven children afflicted with the putrid small-pox, in one close hovel;—the eldest, a daughter, dead of the disorder; and the forlorn parents weeping for the inevitable fate of those, their little ones, who

Ravages of the Small-pox.

still survived. The diet of these poor creatures consisted of raw salted fish, first steeped in sea-water, and then frozen. To heighten the calamity of this heart-rending spectacle, not a ray of comfort or of hope could be administered; nothing could be done for them—nor did they ask for any thing. It was a sight to move the most obdurate; and the impression made in viewing it will never be forgotten.

Amongst a few other dwellings, at some distance from this scene of sorrow, we hired four peasants, who engaged to work-out a boat that was lying fast locked in the ice among the rocks. A most curious undertaking ensued—that of forcing a passage for this boat through the mile of ice, into the open sea. It seemed to require nothing less than the labours of *Hercules* to effect this; but the promise of high reward, and the sight of two bottles of vile *Swedish* brandy, which the Interpreter took care to display to great advantage, wrought marvellously in our favour. The sail belonging to this boat, when produced, was found to be frozen into a solid sheet of ice; but, after much labour, this was hoisted: and a plank being fastened with nails along the ribs of the boat, to prevent her staving, she was laid upon her side; and we all got into her, except two of the men, who remained upon the ice,

Mode of forcing a passage through the ice.

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holding by her bows. In this manner she scudded before the wind, upon the surface of the thin and rotten ice; which soon giving way to the superincumbent weight, we sunk, boat and all, into the water; the two peasants, without, remaining suspended, one at the prow, the other at the stern. Now began a part of the operation, in which these men, accustomed to such trials, shew very considerable dexterity. By giving their vessel a swinging motion, alternately raising and depressing the prow as it was forced by the sail upon the ice, they continually succeeded in breaking a way through it; and penetrated along the channel, thus formed, towards the open sea, by a tedious but sure progress of about 400 yards in an hour. Fortunately, a fair wind blew with great violence; which aided the undertaking more than any thing else; the men being nearly exhausted before the passage was thoroughly effected. In more severe weather, they find this method of working through the ice impracticable, because it freezes together instantly as fast as it is broken, and they remain locked in; by which means the party of peasants who had conducted some travellers to *Kumlinge*, three years before, as was related, were set fast in the ice at a great distance from the shore, and nearly starved to death. The ice, before we

got clear of it, was nearly six inches thick; and it was to our little stock of brandy that we attributed our success. The poor men engaged in working the boat were so overcome by their excessive labour, that without frequent draughts of their favourite liquor they would have given up the undertaking as hopeless.

Remarkable effect of snow falling in Sea-water.

At last, we reached the open sea: and here a violent tempest of wind and snow came upon us: and the sudden effect of the snow mingling with the sea-water, now cooled nearly to the point of its congelation, was most striking. The water became turbid, like milk turning to curd: pieces of ice soon made their appearance, and were heard rattling against the prow and sides of the vessel. The old exclamation of "*Gud bevara!*" once more gave its warning, that things were not quite as could be wished by our *Swedish* steersman: we saw evidently, that if we did not quickly reach *Såttunga*, we should be in the situation, already related, of the poor mariners in their return from *Kumlinge*. The change was so rapid, as the snow continued falling, that when we were drawing near to the *Såttunga* shore, we found ourselves sailing through immense moving slabs of ice; which were driven with such force against each other, that the noise of their striking together, all around us,

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was like the sound of a hundred drums beating: our boat was driven against them with a degree of violence that made us apprehensive of her splitting. At about two miles distance, we descried a boat, already beginning to be set fast, and working its way as we had done before, in a part of the sea where these floating masses had already fixed themselves into a compact state. The water itself seemed full of snow; but this appearance always takes place whenever its particles are beginning to congeal. That the whole passage would speedily become frozen, was very evident; and this change actually took place in the course of the night. An open channel admitted us within 250 yards of the Island of *Såttunga:* and here the ice was strong enough to bear the weight of our boatmen, while they drew their vessel out of the water, and laid her up in a snug birth for the night. This birth, at any other time, would have been considered by me as an object of great curiosity: it was a beautiful cave of ice, hung with pendent icicles and spangling crystal gems—the palace of the *seals,* and temple of their amours: but, under the pressure of fatigue and cold and hunger, all its beauties could not detain me, even for an instant. The boatmen had already quitted it: and having cast my eye over the arched roof and

Natural cave of ice.

Såttunga.

sides of this natural wonder, I followed them, through a forest, to the Village of *Såttunga;* which consists of a small church, and some better-conditioned cottages than it is usual to see in these islands. As soon as we arrived, we found here both the *Eastern* and *Western* Post, waiting for a passage; also about fifty sailors, together with other persons whose ships had been frozen in, waiting to get to *Finland* upon the ice. A party of *Russian* Gentlemen set out, as soon as we arrived, in the hope of profiting by the passage we had forced through the ice on the *Mushaga* shore, to get to that island: what success they met with I did not learn: night was already set in, and it would require time to get our boat out again. One of them gave up his apartment to me, upon leaving *Såttunga;* saying, he had found it cleanly and comfortable. The poor hostess, who conducted me into this chamber, was as proud of receiving strangers beneath her roof as if kings were come to visit her. Turning up her beds, she exclaimed, "Look here! you shall sleep as well in my house as if you were in *Stockholm:* we have no such things as lice or bugs here." My last loaf of bread was frozen, and as hard as stone; but this good woman boiled it in milk; and I never tasted a more delicious meal than from the bowl

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containing the porridge which she thus prepared and placed before me. Intending to set out early in the morning, I wished to pay for my night's accommodation and excellent fare, and for this purpose offered money to the mistress of the house; who, with great simplicity, but earnestness of manner, said, "Alas, Sir! give me something better than money. I have had a pain in my head upwards of forty years, and sometimes it brings on fits: leave me but a *charm* to cure this disorder, and I shall bless you till I die!" Whether she believed that loaf-sugar would act as a *charm* or not, was uncertain; but so completely unknown to her did this substance appear, that having begged a lump of it, she stuck it up among her rarities, in a cupboard; not to be used, but exhibited as a curiosity.

Description of the Inhabitants.

The Island of *Sättunga* occupies a central point amidst the innumerable rocks and inlets which almost fill the mouth of the Gulph of *Bothniâ*. It lies to the south of the *Delen*, or *Delet*, between *Vardö* and *Kumlinge*, and exactly midway between the coast of *Sweden* and *Åbo* in *Finland*[1]. The natives are fishermen and seal-hunters: they are the best-looking, and most robust, of all the islanders. During the summer

(1) See the Chart. See also *Hermelin's* "Charta öfver Åbo och Björneborgs Höfdingedöme." *Stockholm*, 1799.

they carry on a trade with *Stockholm* in fish. My host and his son arrived late in the evening—men really of gigantic stature. "My boys and I," said the father, pointing to the athletic figures of these fine young men, "will accompany you to-morrow to *Kumlinge:* and you will not be deserted by us, upon the ice, as you were by a parcel of striplings from *Vargatta* and *Bergo.* We have heard of all your adventures in going to *Mushaga:* there will be an end of such risks now: trust only to our guidance, and we will take care of you." These men were *Swedes;* as are, properly speaking, the inhabitants of all the *Åland* Isles, and of the islands upon the coast of *Finland.* Formerly, these islands were inhabited by *Finland* corsairs; to put an end to whose piratical depredations, the *Swedes* possessed themselves not only of the Isles, but also of the *Finland* coast as far eastward as *Petersburg,* and northward as far as *Gamla Carleby.* The country at this moment, from *Gamla Carleby* to *Björneborg,* was entirely inhabited by *Swedes;* speaking, of course, the *Swedish* language. From *Björneborg,* as far as *Åbo,* the people are a mixed race of *Swedes* and *Finlanders.* We found the *Swedish* language in use as far as *Varssala:* but when we reached *Varssala,* it was no longer understood. The real *Finlanders,* that is to say, the genuine remnant

Finlanders.

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of the original colony, which yet preserves its antient customs and language in their pure and unmixed state, dwell in the interior eastern district of *Finland:* they inhabit the province of *Tavastehus* and *Savolax,* a wild and watery region, covered with numberless lakes and most extensive forests, and peopled by a race of men who are considered by all their neighbours as the hardiest of all the Northern tribes. In the severest winters, these men perform astonishing journeys; going about with their bosoms bare, exposed to all the inclemency of the weather. More barbarous even than the *Laplanders,* they hold in sovereign contempt all the comforts and luxuries of more refined nations. "ILLIS," said *Tacitus,* speaking of the *Fenni,* "NE VOTO QUIDEM OPUS ESSET." Unaltered in all the ages that have elapsed since he gave that eloquent description[1] which no paraphrase can express, we may still say of them, "FENNIS MIRA FERITAS, FŒDA PAUPERTAS: NON ARMA, NON EQUI, NON PENATES: VICTUI HERBA, VESTITUI PELLES, CUBILE HUMUS." For all that concerns their early history, and the origin of the *Finns,* we may in vain ransack the libraries of the world.

(1) De Mor. *Germ.* tom. II. p. 592. Ed. *Ernesti. Lips.* 1801.

The *Scrictofinni*, mentioned by *Paulus Diaconus*[2], are not, properly speaking, *Finns*, but their cousin-germans the *Laplanders*, to whom perhaps the account given of the *Fenni*, by *Tacitus*, may, from some of his observations[3], be rather applicable. The true *Finns* live in houses without chimneys, which are always filled with smoke, and, from various other causes, are black and filthy beyond description. Fortunately, the very nature of this climate is hostile to the great increase of vermin; but such reptiles and revolting insects as are able to withstand its rigours, find themselves as much domesticated among the *Finlanders*, as are their pigs, poultry, cattle, dogs, and cats; all of which, together with men,

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(2) "Huic loco *Scrictofenni* (sic enim gens illa nominatur) vicini sunt. Qui etiam æstatis tempore nivibus non carent: nec aliter fieri potest, quàm ut crudis agrestium animantium carnibus vescantur: de quorum etiam hirsutis pellibus sibi indumenta coaptant. Ii à saliendo juxta linguam barbaram etymologiam ducunt. Saltibus enim utentes, arte quadam ligno incurvo ad arcus similitudinem feras assequuntur. Apud hos est animal cervo satis assimile," &c.—*Paul. Diacon. de Gestis Langobardorum. lib.* i. *c.* 71. *p.* 354. *Basil. Froben.* 1532.

(3) "Sola in sagittis spes, quas, inopia ferri, ossibus asperant. Idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit. Passim enim comitantur, partemque prædæ petunt. *Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium, quam ut in aliquo ramosum nexu contegantur: huc redeunt juvenes, hoc senum receptaculum.* Sed beatius arbitrantur, quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare."—*Tacit. ubi supra.*

If the Roman historian had lived among the *Laplanders*, he could not more accurately have described their tents made of boughs, their habits, and disposition.

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women and children, find a lodging beneath the same roof. With regard to mosquitoes, they may almost be said to breathe these insects; so completely, during summer, is the atmosphere possessed by their swarms.

Remains of antient and pure *Swedish.*

Its resemblance to *English.*

Among these islands, the *Swedish* language is said to exist in its most antient and pure state: and it here approaches so near to the *English*, that a servant of our own country, who travelled with us, was able to understand and sometimes to converse with the natives. It is like the old *Scottish-English;* the word **mychin** occurring for **meikle**[1], to signify *much;* **thek** for **thilke**, meaning *the which;* **brände** for *burnt;* **slagin** for *slain;* **gläddes** for *gladdened;* &c. &c. Persons at all accustomed to read old *English* books in the *Gothic* letter will have little difficulty in reading old and pure *Swedish:* they will readily translate the following lines of an old *Swedish* ballad, as they are preserved by Professor *Porthan* of *Åbo*, among the annotations to the "*Chronicon Episcoporum Finlandensium*," printed at *Åbo:*

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(1) "The king, that heard all his carping,
He thanked her in meikle thing."

Barbour's Life of Robert Bruce, p. 85. *Edin.* 1758.

Swerige hade mychin wade
Of Carelom, och ſtoer onade;
The foro öfwer hafwet och in i Mälar,
At the brände opp Sikttuna:
Ioan Arkiebiſkop wart ther ſlagin,
Thet gläddes Carela och Rysaland.

THE SAME ENGLISHED.

Sweden had much danger
Of *Carelians*, and great disgrace;
They passed over the sea and into the *Mælar*,
And they burnt up *Sigtuna:*
John Archbishop was there slain,
The which gladdened *Carelis* and *Rysland.*

The verb *To eat,* in the *Åland* Isles, is exactly the same as with us in *English,* and has the same pronunciation; but in *Stockholm,* and in other parts of the country where a mixture of the *German* has intervened and occasioned modern corruptions in the language, ſpeizen is substituted for äta. Again, a *bush* is called *buska;* and a decoy-duck, *a lure,* as in *England.* The instances of similarity in the two languages which occur among the names of domestic utensils, as Pot, Pan, Hammer, and in the appellations bestowed upon the implements of husbandry, are too numerous to mention.

The manners and customs of the *Ålanders* bring to mind those of the natives of the isles

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of *Scotland*. Every man manufactures for himself. They pique themselves much upon their sandals of seal-skin, in which may be seen the first rudiments of a shoe. This kind of sandal is an oblong piece of skin, with a cord fixed round its edge, by which the sandal is made to close upon and cover the foot; the ends of the cord being afterwards fastened round the ankle. Similar sandals, though made of different materials, are worn by the natives of the southern provinces in *Italy*, especially those of *Abruzzo*; also by the *Laplanders* and *Russians*[1]. I have seen them finely represented in marble, among the works of *Greek* sculptors. The thongs, or cords, which bound them to the feet, were by the *Greeks* called ἱμάντες[2]. Among the *Ålanders*, the hair of the seal is preserved on the outside, and within they put a little straw. These sandals, rude as they appear, are, when made of seal-skin, in such high estimation, that although common upon the feet of every one of the inhabitants, not one among them can be prevailed upon to sell a pair to a stranger. The great utility of them arises in their resistance to moisture: they prevent the melting snow from

Seal-skin sandals.

(1) See Vignette to Chap. X. of the First Volume of these Travels.
(2) *Mark* i. 7. *Luke* iii. 16. *Perizon.* ad *Ælian.* ix. 11.

penetrating, and are at the same time exceedingly light and comfortable to the feet.

Winter occupations.

During the winter, the *Ålanders* are chiefly occupied in fishing, by dragging their nets under the ice, or in hunting for and killing seals by shooting them. Few people are such expert marksmen[3]. When the sea is frozen over, they creep about among the rocks, with their rifle-barrelled guns, watching for the appearance of a seal's head through an aperture in the ice. These animals are forced to come up for air; and the moment a seal-shooter sees one of them thrusting his nose through one of the holes to breathe, he levels his gun and dispatches him. They seldom miss their aim; for the loss of ammunition is a very serious concern. The manner in which the *seals* expose their young to all the rigour of the climate, is very extraordinary. They leave them upon the naked surface of the ice, in frozen caverns among the

(3) The *Norwegians* are not less skilful than the *Swedes* in the use of the rifle. There is a passage upon this subject in Dr. *Lee's* MS. Journal:—

"The *Norway* farmers are celebrated shots. I am credibly informed that they hit their game with a single bullet; and that were they to miss, they would be quite out of temper, as the loss of a charge is of much value to them. They often shoot game on the wing with a bullet; and a *Norwegian* has been known to assert that he would shoot his bird, in this manner, through the head; and has fulfilled his engagement."

Dr. Flott Lee's MS. Journal.

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rocks, and sometimes in cavities of the ice itself. During the day-time, they dive through the holes and chasms into the abyss below for food; and at night, steal unperceived to the place where they have deposited their young, carrying with them the fish they have taken, and there feed them. If the seal-hunters find them at large upon the ice, or upon the shore, they dispatch them easily with the safety-pike before described. The appearance of the *seal-hunters* equipped for this singular species of chace is really curious. They generally go in pairs, in search of their game. I met several of these intrepid sportsmen, braving the severity of the atmosphere, and watching for hours upon the same spot for the appearance of the *seals*. Their dress consisted of a sheep's-skin for a jacket, worn with the wool towards the body, and fastened by a leathern belt about the waist; seal-skin sandals; and a fur cap. At their back they carry a rifle, sometimes inclosed in a case of seal-skin; and in their right-hand appears the safety-pike, which they use as a walking-staff.

As I was going to bed, a crowd of other travellers arrived, all adventurers, like myself; who, from some of the neighbouring isles, had effected a passage to *Sättunga*, and wished to

get to *Kumlinge*. These were all mariners; the masters and crews of merchant-ships locked in by the ice. Having left a few hands on board, merely to guard their vessels, they were all going to their respective homes in *Finland*. The little village of *Såttunga* had never seen so many strangers assembled there before: every cottage was full of them. As soon as daylight appeared on the following morning, the court-yard of the house where I had slept was crowded with persons who were to join company, and had made this their place of rendezvous. As every one of these persons had engaged his own party of peasants, almost every male inhabitant of *Såttunga* was hired for the journey across the ice to *Kumlinge*. I had engaged my host, two of his athletic sons, and five other peasants. I found the whole body drawn up, as in military array. The dress of the *Såttunga* peasants was moreover uniform: they were all clad in the same simple and cleanly manner, wearing white sheep-skin jackets, dark fur caps, seal-skin sandals; and each person had his safety-pike in his hand. They amounted in all to thirty-seven persons; and the proudest General in *Europe* might have rejoiced to number such men among his troops. We had some little distance to march by land, until we came to the sea-shore.

Preparations for a journey on the ice to *Kumlinge*.

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Description of the Procession on leaving *Sättunga.*

opposite *Kumlinge;* when all of them were formed into a procession upon the ice, exhibiting a scene altogether new to me. First went a party of scouts, as pioneers, proving the ice with their safety-pikes. Then came the *Swedish* Post to *Finland;* the mail-bags, fastened upon a very small sledge, being drawn by a single man. Then followed another party of scouts, with their pikes as before; and, after these men, my own sledge, bearing whatever clothes I had with me, and a small stock of provisions which I had purchased for my friend in *Kumlinge*, whom I expected to find in want of common necessaries. Next advanced a promiscuous multitude of travellers, without much order or caution, preceding their respective sledges, and attentive only to the preserving of a proper distance from each other, so as not to huddle together on any one spot: and, behind all these, another party of the peasants, ready for any work in which their assistance might be required. The whole retinue, when extended upon the ice, reached to the distance of two *English* miles; and in those intervals when I could sufficiently abstract my mind from all sense of danger to survey this curious train, the effect produced by the appearance of such a numerous host marching over the abyss of water was very pleasing. I

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had walked in this manner thirty-five miles on the preceding day, in a state of such constant alarm, that little leisure was allowed for calmly viewing the scene around us; and the guides were of opinion, that, although the distance to *Kumlinge* in a direct line was not above twenty-one *English* miles, yet the number of circuits we should be compelled to make would render our journey quite equal to that of the preceding day.

We had not long quitted the shore of *Såttunga*, and were advancing towards an island in front of our route, when two *seal-hunters* suddenly made their appearance from behind some rocks, raising their voices as loud as they could, and were seen with their lifted pikes, calling to the foremost of our scouts, and bidding them to halt and fall back as quick as possible. The cries of "*Keep off! keep off!*" in the *Swedish* language, were at first not heeded by our guides: but as we drew nearer, we could distinctly hear these men telling our pioneers that the ice was open in several places, and everywhere, according to their own expression, "*too rotten to be trusted.*" Accordingly we fell back with as much caution as possible, retracing our former footsteps; and afterwards altered our course, proceeding about nine *English* miles to the south

Encounter with the *Seal-hunters.*

Change of Route.

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of *Såttunga* before we could bear up again towards the Island of *Kumlinge*. A variety of currents, prevalent among these islands, keep the sea in some places open, even during the hardest frosts; but as there is always inconstancy in their operation, it is impossible to say when or where a route may be practicable upon the ice, without proving it. That so many open places were not owing to any want of rigour in the temperature, is evident from this circumstance—that when we were farther from land, we found the surface, which had been hitherto smooth, and sometimes glassy, fixed in a variety of irregular and fantastic shapes, rough and indented, but hard as adamant, and evidently shewing to us those broken masses which appear only when the waves of the sea have been suddenly fixed and rendered solid during their turbulent state. One can hardly conceive any thing more extraordinary, than a frost capable of producing such an effect; nor would it have been produced without a heavy fall of snow, at the time, mingling with the salt-water. These slabs of ice form instantaneously: and, by the commotion of the waves, being thrust edgeways out of the water, become fixed, in all directions, into one solid bed. Our walking was, in consequence, rendered painful and tedious—a work of difficulty,

and often of alarm; apertures and chasms among these huge masses shewing us the liquid abyss beneath our feet; and frequently, when we thought ourselves the most secure, we were found to be in the greatest peril. Not a step could be taken without first proving, every one with his pike, where he should set his foot: nor was it at all safe to tread in the footsteps of those who had gone before; since the same ice which had sustained the weight of one of our party, might, as indeed it happened more than once, give way with the next; and we had a narrow escape of losing two of our guides, who were saved by the dexterity, watchfulness, and courage of their comrades. An instance of a similar nature happened soon afterwards. The men, who had the charge of the *Ostero-Bothniâ* Mail, upon a hand-sledge, actually passed over an opening in the ice covered only by a thin surface of frozen snow. Presently our pikemen approached the same spot; and were about to attempt the same dangerous passage, when, at the first plunge they made with their pikes, the water spouted up, and they scampered off in all directions. I had no idea of the extent of their danger, until coming towards the same place, I perceived only a thin covering of snow, which nevertheless had been sufficiently frozen to

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support the weight of the peasant and sledge with the *Ostero-Bothniâ* mail-bags, and of the guides who had gone before.

As we continued to advance across the more open sea, the ice became stronger: and being now at a considerable distance from any land, the prospect widened on all sides, and became at every instant more desolate and appalling. The wind had carried off every particle of snow; and we journeyed for many miles over a surface clear and transparent as glass. It was the last day of the eighteenth century; which made me push forward with spirit and vigour, that, at least, I might terminate the most extraordinary adventure of my life, together with the most remarkable period of it, in some place where I could lay my head, and not remain benighted upon the frozen surface of an inhospitable sea. At mid-day, I halted to distribute some slight refreshment among our guides. As I served out to them their allowance of biscuit and *Swedish* brandy, they all stood bare-headed, and said grace. What a scene, for such solemnity! While they were engaged in their brief and scanty meal, I surveyed the distant waste. Towards the *East*, all was bleak and open—a vast region of "thick-ribbed ice," wherein hardly a single object relieved the wandering eye. The

sun, scarce elevated above the horizon, put forth ungenial splendour; for although shining in cloudless majesty, his rays came across the chilling desert rather reminding one of what he wanted than of what he gave. The thermometer, when exposed to his full beams, scarcely acknowledged his presence. The mercury, according to *Fahrenheit*'s scale, in the morning, had fallen to ten degrees above *zero;* and now, at noon-day, it only rose one degree higher. Towards the *West* the prospect was more varied; the numberless rocks, islands, and islets, which fill the *Åland* Sea, being here collected into innumerable clusters.

We set out once more: and presently the Island of *Kumlinge* was hailed by our party, as being visible at the distance of fourteen *English* miles towards the *North.* It was immediately pointed out to me by one of our guides; and the sight of it, at that moment, filled me with joy. We pressed forward with all the speed we could muster, and met with little to impede or oppose our progress. About three o'clock we entered into a small bay belonging to the island: and being very eager to land, I made the best of my way towards a low shore, with one of the most active and foremost of the guides: the rest of our retinue were a long way

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in the rear, some of them at the distance of five or six miles; being retarded by their burdens and sledges. Here the marks of footsteps and sledges from the village of *Kumlinge* to the sea-side were very visible in the snow: and as these served me for excellent land-marks in tracing the road thither, I set out alone; and had not proceeded above two *English* miles, before I distinguished, among a groupe of little wooden-boxes, which were so many dwellings belonging to the village, an upright pole, to which a vane was attached —the well-known sign of the Gäſtgifvare-gård, or Inn, in *Sweden*. I hastened towards it; and entering, found my long-lost Friend and Companion—as much rejoiced to see me as I was to see him—sitting in a black and miserable dungeon, which he had used as his apartment; but in good health, after a week's confinement in a place where the combined action of fire and smoke could not prevent every thing around him from freezing.

Thus terminated the year One Thousand Eight Hundred of our æra. And here I shall also terminate the account of this Expedition—thankful to Providence for the dangers I have escaped; and reserving for another Chapter, in the opening of a new century, the style of narrative which, being less personal, I had before adopted.

CHAP. VI.

KUMLINGE TO ABO.

The Party leave Kumlinge—*Brief account of that island*—Bjorkö—Brandö—*Extraordinary Congregation for Divine Service*—Vattuskiftel—*Bursting of the Ice*—Varssala—*Revolting manners of the Natives*—*Valedictory remarks upon the Swedes*—Fahrenheit's *Thermometer fifty-two degrees and a half below freezing*—Turvesi *Passage*—*Accidents from the frost*—Helsing—Himois—Vinkela—*Action of atmospheric air upon vapour*—*State of travelling in* FINLAND—Laitis—Tursanpare—Niemenkylä—Nussis-Nummis—*Arrival at* Åbo—*Narrow escape from suffocation.*

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The Party leave *Kumlinge*.

THE next day, *Wednesday, Jan.* 1, 1800, we left *Kumlinge*, crossing part of the *Lappvesi* Passage with horses to our sledges: but we afterwards found that the ice would not bear their weight the whole way: our guides therefore left these poor animals exposed upon a bleak island, from which they said they would not attempt to stray; and themselves drew our sledge to *Bjorkö*, or the *Birch* Island. A painter would have found a curious subject for his pencil, in the figures of the two horses upon an ice-clad rock, when we abandoned them. Being heated by drawing the sledges, the drops of sweat had congealed into long icicles, sticking out, like bristles, all over their bodies, and hanging in such long and thick stalactites from the nostrils, that it seemed dangerous to attempt to break them off, for fear of tearing away the flesh with them: all their shaggy manes and tails and hair were thus covered by a white opake crust with pendent icicles, so that they seemed rather like some non-descript animals than horses. As soon as we quitted them, they turned their heads to leeward; and remained fixed, like marble statues, upon the rock; closing their eyes, and scarce shewing signs of animal life.

Account of *Kumlinge*.

Of *Kumlinge*, sometimes written *Kumlinga*, the island we had now quitted, a very short

description will suffice. It is larger than any of the neighbouring isles, and has a population of about 320 souls. The number of families amount to forty. The church, a rude Gothic structure of considerable antiquity, is built of *granite*, and roofed with wood. The inhabitants are an industrious race, and cultivate the small quantity of soil their island affords, so as to make it very productive.[1]

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(1) The following extracts from Mr. *Cripps's MS. Journal*, written during his solitary confinement in *Kumlinge*, will not be read without interest. He describes his lodging as a chamber about four yards square, with two beds in it; one of which was occupied by his *English* servant; and there was just room enough besides for our little dog to stretch himself before the fire, upon a floor covered with dirt an inch thick. The sides of this wretched chamber were covered with inscriptions, the lamentations of former travellers detained here by adverse weather. These extracts will be transcribed *verbatim*, in the order observed in the Diary whence they are taken.

"*Kumlinge*, *Wednesday*, *Dec.* 25.—The inhabitants of this village went to church this morning at six o'clock, by candle-light. After breakfast, I hired a horse and sledge, and set out, accompanied by my host, to examine the state of the island.——The village of *Kumlinge* is distant half a *Swedish* mile from the sea.——Bought three *white hare*-skins, for which they asked about twelvepence of our money. Fox-skins sell for a much higher price.——The people of this island do not grow *rye* enough for their own consumption; but import it from *Finland*, paying for it in money which they obtain from the same country by the sale of their fish.——They prefer the winter to the summer season. In winter, they make and repair their nets, and kill quantities of game, especially of Black Game, which is common here. In summer, they work hard, getting in their stock of hay, harvest, and fish.——Like all other *Swedes*, they cannot live without brandy; but they seldom drink to intoxication. Even the gentry of *Sweden* are discontented, and quite out of their element, without brandy; especially if they have it not with their whet

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Bjorkö.

Bjorkö has nothing more worth notice than its name. The inhabitants of the small village so called were gone to church, as they do every holiday in *Sweden;* the peasants being particularly attentive to their religious duties. Here we

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whet before dinner. All the peasants wear fur-caps; and each man two pairs of gloves, one of worsted next to the skin, and one of leather over the worsted.——While engaged in making these notes, the daughter of my host entered and presented me with a plate of nuts, which she said they gather in the summer to eat at Christmas.

"*Thursday, Dec.* 26.—My host and all his family are again gone to church. The *Ålanders,* in this respect, resemble the rest of their *Swedish* countrymen, being sincerely a religious people. My *English* servant has observed, that every night, before they eat their supper, they all kneel down and say their prayers most devoutly, and after supper sing a hymn of thanksgiving. The manner in which they sleep is singular. They all live in one room; their beds being stationed in cots, one above another. To these they ascend, naked, by ladders; stripping themselves, even before strangers, without appearing conscious of any indecency.

"At nine this morning, *Celsius*'s thermometer, in my room, was two degrees below 0. Having placed it in the open air, it fell fourteen degrees below 0. I then exposed some *Swedish* brandy in the open air: it did not freeze; but the bottle being brought into the room, was instantly covered with ice. The greatest heat that I could produce in my miserable chamber did not raise the mercury above the freezing-point. The sun rose this morning at about ten minutes after nine, and set about ten minutes before three. Finding that the brandy did not freeze in the bottle, I put out some in a pewter-plate, and it became solid.

"*Friday, Dec.* 27.—In this village there are nearly as many windmills as houses; each family having its own mill, which they call Quarn.—— Every article of the wearing apparel of the inhabitants is of their own manufacture.——The main business of the year, with all of them, is that of taking fish. They sell only what they do not want for their own consumption; and buy malt and rye, from which they make their brandy. They moreover sell tallow, and make their own candles: they also send butter, cheese, and pork, to *Stockholm;* and brew a bad kind of beer.—— In their persons they are much neater than in their houses.——Each family

observed the near resemblance between the names of things in these islands and in our own country. The fire was low, and they said they would throw on a *bush* (buske) to raise it, and brought in some juniper-boughs for that purpose.

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family kills five or six *seals* in a year, and fourteen or fifteen *sheep*.—— My host pays about fourteen or fifteen dollars annually to the King, and as many *Plåts** to the Clergyman; and two *Plåts* annually towards the repairs of the church.——He maintains one horse, eight cows, and fifteen sheep.

"*Saturday, Dec.* 28.—This morning, my worthy host invited me to accompany him upon a shooting excursion. He was dressed in the habit worn by all the peasants—a sheep-skin jacket with the wool inwards, a fur-cap, woollen breeches, and worsted stockings; shoes of seal-skin; and over them rein-deer skins with the hair outwards, to prevent the snow from thawing and penetrating to the feet. One of the most entertaining sights is, to see one of these marksmen upon a shooting excursion in the forests, whither I followed my landlord. Upon coming into the wood, he placed himself upon a small eminence among the trees; and here, laying down his gun, he, to my great amazement, drew out of his pocket a small opera-glass, and began to survey all the surrounding district. After a few minutes' attentive observation, "*Ah!*" said he, "*there is an Orra*"—the name they give to the Black Game. Then crawling upon his hands and knees to a convenient distance, he placed himself, at his whole length, upon the snow. After a considerable time spent in taking aim, he coolly opened the pan of the lock of his fowling-piece, took out a piece of tow, and, levelling the barrel once more, drew the trigger and shot the bird. They are particularly careful in cleansing the gun after every shot; and are hardly ever known to miss their aim, if they draw the trigger: but this they never do, unless they be sure of their mark; and they never attempt to shoot flying. This was a cock-bird, and a very fine one, of the size of a pheasant. Afterwards, he shot a kind of wild-duck, which he called a *Lure*.——The people here retire to rest as early as seven o'clock in the evening.

"*Sunday, Dec.* 29.—Attended divine service in the church. The prayers and sermon were in the *Swedish* language. The men sit on one side, and the women on the other, as in all parts of *Sweden*. The Clergyman seemed

* A *Plåt* is *sixteen shillings*, or *eight-pence* sterling of our money.

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Brandö.

From *Bjorkö*, we proceeded, chiefly by land, to *Brandö*, or the *Burnt Island*. Where we had to pass the inlets and passages of the sea, the ice was strong enough to bear our horses the whole way, which enabled us to perform this part of our journey very expeditiously. At *Brandö* there is a wretched village of the same name; and this name had excited our curiosity, because it signifies "*The Burnt island:*" but we

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seemed to preach with great energy, and in a very loud tone of voice. He invited me afterwards to his house.——The disposition to shew kindness to strangers prevails all over these islands; but they speak of the *Russians* with strong marks of aversion.

"*Monday, Dec.* 30.—A great deal of snow fell to-day, towards evening.——I have before said, that the natives were all their own *tailors, weavers, shoemakers*, &c.; but I now observe that they are also their own *tanners* and *carpenters*. They procure *alder*-bark, and chop it into very small pieces; boiling it in water, in which they first put their skins; and thus manufacture their own leather.——A white hare was dressed for my dinner this day. It was first boiled, and afterwards fried; which I found to be no bad way of dressing a hare.——Two young women came to the house, according to a very extraordinary custom, to beg, before their marriage. When any of the young girls of the island are about to marry, they are allowed to ask for gifts from all their friends, for some months before the knot is tied. These damsels were to be married in the ensuing spring. They brought with them each a bag of linen, as white as snow. Into these bags their neighbours threw their eleemosynary gifts,—a little money—a little corn—some feathers—a little household provision—a little wool—a little tow—any thing, in short, rather than nothing.

"A pernicious and dangerous practice exists in all the *Åland Isles*, as in former times in *England*, although justly prohibited in *Sweden*—that of covering their floors with straw during the Christmas season, by way of garniture. The sparks and blazing deal-splinters from their fires, falling upon their floor, frequently kindle the straw; by which means not only houses, but whole villages, are burned."

Cripps's MS. Journal.

found nothing in the appearance of the rocks to explain the cause of the appellation. There is not a trace of any volcanic matter. The geological features here, as usual in all this district, were formed of *granite;* with veins of very coarse marble, which in some places rises to the surface, and forms the bed of the soil. As we left *Brandö*, a sight was presented which we may vainly attempt to set before the reader in all its novel varieties and living colours. The church service had just ended: and at this season of the year the congregations are so numerous, that one only wonders how so many people can be accommodated with a place for their devotions. Persons of all ages and sexes were coming from the sanctuary of this little island, and about to disperse to their distant homes. We met the Clergyman, in the midst of his numerous congregation, habited in a peasant's dress, like the rest of his flock. Upwards of an hundred sledges, to which wild and beautiful horses were harnessed, were seen presently in motion; and they might be said, like so many vessels, to be literally "*getting under weigh;*" for they all took to the sea; where, being extended upon the ice in a long line of procession, they formed a most singular sight[1].

Extraordinary Congregation for Divine Service.

(1) See the Vignette to this Chapter.

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If it had not been for the swiftness with which this vast retinue moved, it might have been compared to a caravan crossing the desert. To us the spectacle was particularly interesting; because it exhibited, in one view, the population of almost all the different islands around *Brandö*, the natives being all in their holiday attire. Their sledges, containing whole families, were drawn by those fleet and beautiful little *Finland* horses, of which mention has been already made, in a former part of this work. We overtook them upon the ice, in full gallop; the peasants who drew our sledges being as anxious as any of the party to fall into the train, which now reached nearly three *English* miles. They had all taken their whet of brandy, as usual, after divine service; and the coming of strangers among them, at this moment, adding to their hilarity, such racing commenced upon the frozen main, as reminded us of antient representations of scenes in the Circus and Hippodrome. Here were seen female charioteers contesting speed against their male companions; sledges overturned; the young and old of both sexes tumbling out and sprawling upon the ice; horses breaking loose from their trappings, scampering off in all directions; other peasants, having gained the van, flying off as fast as their fiery, snorting

steeds could fly with them—laughing, shouting, and bidding defiance to those behind. In this manner we began the passage of the *Vattuskiftel*, a channel of the sea as wide as that of the *Delet*, and in which there is always a strong current towards the *Baltic*. The distance across, in a direct line by water, is not more than eighteen English miles; but, owing to this current, the ice was not passable in a straight course; and we were compelled, as usual, to make a circuitous route, that nearly doubled the distance to *Varssala* (pronounced *Vartsala*). As we proceeded, the immense throng of sledges was gradually dispersed; and at length we found ourselves once more alone upon the wide surface of the frozen sea. About half way over, we met a party coming from the *Finland* shore, loud in their murmurs about the state of the ice, which they said had opened upon them near the land. We presently found this to be true: upon coming to the part of the passage they alluded to, the water appeared gushing through a chasm two miles in length. This opening had taken place with an explosive noise, as of a cannon firing. One part of the ice, in settling, was now below the level of the other; and the continual vibratory motion of that upon which we travelled, yielding to the pressure of the horses'

Vattuskiftel.

Bursting of the Ice.

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feet, convinced us that it was not frozen to any great depth. Whenever this is the case, and the least alarm prevails, the first caution a traveller ought to use is, to prevent, if possible, the affrighted peasants from huddling together in a mass—which they are very apt to do, collecting their horses and sledges all upon one spot. It is very difficult to make a *Finlander* sensible that his own weight is of any importance upon such occasions. Fifty of them will crowd together, to consult upon the best method of getting out of the danger, and thereby render it more imminent. The consequences are obvious. In this manner it was that a gentleman, going towards *Finland*, was merged with his sledge and horse but a few days before our coming. His own life was saved, by the dexterity of the guides—who shew great skill in rescuing persons when the ice has given way; but the sledge and horse were lost. Even the day before, on the morning of the author's expedition to *Sättunga*, another traveller lost all his baggage, owing to the same imprudence and want of caution, when crossing the ice by the *Lappvesi* Passage: the peasants, finding the ice grow weaker and weaker, became alarmed, and crowded together round the sledge containing all his effects, which presently fell through the surface, and sunk

to the bottom of the sea. Fortunately, no lives were lost.

Varssala.

It was dark when we arrived at *Varssala*, and entered a dirty wretched hovel, without any accommodation for travellers; and yet this is almost the only place marked for their reception between *Kumlinge* and *Åbo*. There are not more than twenty-five habitations in the whole island, which is a huge rock thinly covered with a meagre soil. The food of the inhabitants seemed to consist of nothing more than black bread, a nauseous kind of beer, and bad salted-fish.

We read the lamentations of many who had left a memorial of their regret in being confined to this detestable spot, where there is nothing in the houses superior to what is found in the worst dwellings of the *Laplanders*[1]. The natives here began to speak to us only in the *Finnish*

(1) See the entertaining account given by *Porter*, of his long penance in this place. (*Travelling Sketches in Russia and Sweden*, vol. II. p. 89, &c. *Lond.* 1809.) "I entered," says the author of that work, "a hovel, fitter to be the den of sea-monsters than a habitation of the human race." Yet in this wretched island Mr. *Porter* noticed a style of head-dress among the women, which may often be observed in the best Greek sculpture; and which he describes as peculiar to the women of *Varssala*; —"the hair being drawn up to the top of the head, and there rolled into a sort of knot: smoothed at the sides, and well plastered with beer, it not only receives a polish from the liquor, but is kept steady in its shape. Round this mass of hair, on the crown, is fixed a kind of diadem, composed of beads, bugles, &c. of various colours; which ornament completes the coiffure; the whole having the air of a Greek head-dress, more like a nymph of *Paphos* than of *Warsala*." *Ibid. p.* 93.

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language. There was but one man who could converse with our *Swedish* interpreter, or comprehend any thing of what he said. The manners of the people were so revolting, that one hesitates in giving the description of any thing so disgusting. The glasses put on the table were dirty; and this being mentioned, they attempted to clean them with spittle. A woman, who entered the chamber with a saucer of butter, not only blew her nose upon her fingers, but into the palm of her hand; and then, wiping it upon her petticoat, proceeded to handle all the provisions that were set forth. If it were a question, Which is the more tolerable, the filth of *Italy* and the South of *France*, or that to which a traveller is exposed in the North of *Europe?* an answer would not readily be made. In warm climates, it is as difficult to avoid vermin as it is to escape from villainy. In Northern regions, there is more of honesty; but sometimes the barbarous condition of the inhabitants causes them to betray the most disgusting manners;—and where is the *Englishman* who can fortify either his nerves or his stomach, so as to regard with indifference the most beastly propensities? Neither the houses nor the persons of the natives in the North of *Europe*, if we except *Russia*, swarm with vermin as in *Italy*; although they be not destitute: but the climate is unfavourable

Revolting manners of the Natives.

both to their increase and activity. These nameless insects, in *Sweden* and *Finland*, like the inhabitants themselves, are few in number, but heavy and gigantic in their size[1]. Oh *England!* decent abode of comfort and cleanliness, and decorum!—Oh blessed asylum of all that is worth having upon earth!—Oh sanctuary of Religion, and of Liberty, for the whole civilized world!—It is only in viewing the state of other countries, that thy advantages can be duly estimated!—May thy sons, who have "fought the good fight," but know and guard what they possess in thee!—Oh Land of happy fire-sides, and cleanly hearths, and domestic peace; of filial piety, and parental love, and connubial joy; "the cradle of Heroes, the school of Sages, the temple of Law, the altar of Faith, the asylum of innocence,[2]" the bulwark of private security and of public honour!

"WHERE'ER I ROAM, WHATEVER REALMS TO SEE,
MY HEART, UNTRAVELL'D, FONDLY TURNS TO THEE!"

(1) At *Varssala*, however, they cannot be said to be "few in number." After the Author of the "*Travelling Sketches*," before cited, was driven back to this island, he thus writes of its filthy state:—"Here then I am again, with the happy prospect of passing, Heaven knows how many more days! in cold, filth, and famine. I wish the sea would, some time or other, do this island the favour of a thorough washing: and then I am sure more living creatures of the *creeping* and *jumping* species would be drowned in the flood, than ever filled the waters at the general deluge." *Ibid. p.* 92.

(2) Sermon by *H. V. Bayley*, A.M. *Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, p.* 14. *Manchester*, 1803.

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Valedictory remarks upon the *Swedes*.

In this miserable place, *Varssala*, we may be considered as having entered *Finland* once more; and, what is worse, of bidding a final adieu to SWEDEN. In the course of our long account of the country and its inhabitants, it will be seen, that, with a strong predilection for the comforts and advantages of *England*, we have spoken favourably of the *Swedes*—and perhaps for this reason, that they so strongly resemble *Englishmen* in all they do and say. As for their natural rudeness of manner, we were soon taught, that what belonged to them as a characteristic of the whole nation, and is in itself harmless, might well be tolerated. We often heard foreigners, and especially the *French*, when speaking of the *Swedes*, complain of the impossibility of enduring the freedoms of which they are guilty towards strangers; but we considered this trivial fault as more than overbalanced by their many valuable virtues—by their love of truth, and honesty, and hospitality, and bravery. Some few things must be conceded to a *Swede*; and you make him your fast friend, and the most kind-hearted and generous of men. He must be allowed to enter into your apartment, unbidden, and unknown, upon the moment of your arrival, without any form of introduction or ceremony; to seat himself at your

table; spit all over your floor; fill your chamber with tobacco-smoke; ask your name, your rank, your profession, your age, your country, your character, your business—all your present and future plans; where you have been, what you are doing, and whither you are going—finally, what you think of *Sweden*. Having answered all these questions, sometimes without his caring at all about your replies or attending to them, you will find yourself upon even terms with him. His house, his horses, his equipage, his servants, his time, his company, his advice, and very often his purse also, all are at your service, and entirely at your command. He will make common stock with you, and freely share with you whatsoever he has. Thus, although, in viewing his character and manners, we may sometimes find a little ground of complaint, yet we cannot see any thing seriously to condemn. It is in fact, and not in morality, that the *Swedes* are deficient. Often, when they have travelled and learned more of what is called 'refinement,' they lose something of their more estimable qualities.

Our journey from *Varssala* the next morning (*January* 2) was one of extreme suffering; and perhaps few *English* travellers ever encountered one of greater trial. The reports made by the

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peasants and by our servants, at starting, had prepared us to expect very severe cold; and the mercury in *Fahrenheit*'s thermometer, after being exposed only for a few minutes in a sheltered situation near the house, had fallen 46° below the freezing-point; and afterwards, when more exposed to a north-east wind, which blew with violence, to 52½° before sun-rise. Yet, as any thing was preferable to remaining in the wretched and unwholesome hovel where we had passed the night, we resolved to brave all the inclemency of the weather, and set out, at eight o'clock, in open sledges. We had used every possible precaution, as to additional clothing; but it was all to no purpose. When for a moment exposed to the atmosphere, a sensation in our cheeks like that of being scorched immediately took place. We covered our faces with silk handkerchiefs, drawn over them in such a manner as to leave the smallest possible aperture for respiration; the consequence was, that the inside of the handkerchief became coated with a plate of ice, which, sticking to the skin and not melting, could not be removed without excoriation. We had to cross a frozen channel of the sea, called the *Turvesi* Passage; a narrow strait; but being open towards the *north-east*, we were exposed to all the fury of the blast. In

Turvesi Passage.

a short time the author found that his left-eye was so frozen that he could not by any effort separate the eyelids, and he began to be fearful that the right-eye would also close. At this moment there came on a sudden squall of wind; so piercing, that a languid stupor and sleepiness seized us all, and there was reason to apprehend the freezing of the blood in our veins. It was followed by a cry from our *Swedish* interpreter, that our *English* servant's face was frozen. We hastened to his assistance; and found the poor man almost insensible, with two large spots upon one of his cheeks, as if patches of white paper had been stuck on. Our peasants knew very well what these spots were, and how to treat them. We began instantly the application of snow, which is always resorted to in such cases—rubbing them with handfuls of snow, until they disappeared; but, to our dismay, new spots appeared, in fresh places, as fast as the old ones were removed. The interpreter's nose, during the operation, turned as white as the snow itself; and one of the peasants had a spot that covered his cheek and one side of his nose. The only danger, when these accidents occur, arises from being alone, and having no companion to witness the spot and give the alarm; as the person attacked is insensible of what has

Accidents from the Frost.

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taken place; and if he should enter into a warm room with one of these spots, the white colour becomes livid, and an open sore instantly ensues, which sometimes mortifies, but always, even after it is healed, leaves a black scar behind[1]. Our poor little dog, that lay in the bottom of one of the sledges, wrapped up in woollen, and as carefully guarded from the atmosphere as possible, had one of his hind-legs frozen so stiff, that it stuck to his belly as if it had been glued, and we could not remove it. In this dilemma, we found that it would be madness to continue much longer thus exposed; and we made all possible haste to reach the village of *Leosari*, which was hard by; where we entered a house, the owner of which was known to our guides, and where the worthy family hospitably received us all. They first cautioned us against venturing into a warm room: notwithstanding which, our *English* servant found the temptation too strong to be resisted, and imprudently entered a chamber where there was a heated stove. The consequence was, that his face almost instantly became blistered and very painful; and in a

(1) The drivers of sledges in *Petersburg*, from their carelessness in going with these spots upon their faces into warm drinking-rooms, are always liable to such sores; and appear frequently with their faces disfigured by the black scars, for the rest of their lives.

few hours, a thin purulent ichor flowed from the wound. Every one of the party who had been attacked by the white spots had blisters upon the skin, although snow had been used as soon as the spots were visible; and the mildest consequence was the peeling off the skin.

At ten o'clock A.M. this day, we placed our thermometer in the yard before the house, exposed to a *north* aspect. The mercury fell to 49° below the freezing-point; and we afterwards found that, at the same hour in *Åbo*, it had fallen to 30° below 0, of *Celsius;* which is equivalent to $22\frac{1}{2}$° below *zero* of *Fahrenheit*, or $52\frac{1}{2}$° below freezing. In that severe moment before our arrival at *Leosari*, when we all suffered so much, and were exposed upon an open field of ice, it was perhaps much colder, as the sun was then just rising. According to the *Swedish* calendar, it rises at this time of the year at ten minutes after nine, and sets forty minutes after two.

These delays prevented all possibility of our reaching *Åbo* before the next day; but we continued our journey over the ice; and came to *Helsing*, which is upon *terra firma;* where we were once more landed in FINLAND. Afterwards, we passed through *Himois;* and put up

Helsing.

Himois.

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Vinkila.

for the night in the village of *Vinkila*. Between *Varssala* and *Åbo* there is nothing that may be called an inn; nor, indeed, any place of rest and accommodation for travellers. At *Vinkila*, wanting a house of this kind, we prevailed upon a widow lady to receive us into her dwelling for the night, upon condition of our paying for every thing, as in a regular Gåstgifware-gård.[1] Having assented to our proposal, she provided us with a decent lodging, and treated us with great kindness.

Action of atmospheric air upon vapour.

The frost had been this day so severe, that the horses, whenever we halted, began to bite off the icicles that were formed upon their knees, in an extraordinary manner. Whenever the door of our apartment was opened, the rushing in of the cold air caused a very remarkable phænomenon, by converting the warm vapour of the room into a whirling column or cloud of snow, which, being instantaneous in its formation, was turned round with great rapidity. We availed ourselves of this opportunity to examine the arrangement of the *spiculæ* in the particles of snow—as likely to illustrate the crystallization of water—by placing sheets of dark-coloured paper, on which the snow, thus formed, might fall. The beautiful

(1) The *Swedish* name of an inn.

appearance of the ice, collected as it fell, resembled, although upon a smaller scale, that which is presented by a number of the seeds of the common *carduus* or *thistle*, when they are surrounded by diverging fibres of the *egret* or *down*; that is to say, a number of radii, diverging from a central point, were held there by a power of attraction exerted by crystalline forces in these particles of water passing from the fluid to the solid state. We had not then observed the more regular appearance of the snowy stars with six equal radii, which descend from the higher regions of the air, when the atmosphere is calm[2]; or we might have been convinced that we had in these less-perfect forms a decisive proof of the crystallization of *water*; and that *hydrogen oxide*, which is only another name for *water*, obeys the same laws to which all other *oxides* are liable[3].

State of travelling in FINLAND.

In this house we found a Mr. *Elmgreen*, from *Åbo*, who agreed to accompany us, upon our journey thither on the following day. From him we learned, what indeed we already found to be the case, that, in travelling this route, beds are

(2) See Vol. p. 12.

(3) See a complete confirmation of this truth, in the account given of regular *rhombi* subsequently exhibited by crystals of ice, in the "*Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*," *Part* II.

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a species of accommodation never found. The traveller must put together such things as he can collect; and lie down upon a table, or a few boards put together to raise him a little above the floor, which is seldom in a state for him to make his bed upon. But there is no part of the world where a traveller will fare worse, in this respect, than in passing through the *South of Finland* to *Petersburg*. We had called at a Clergyman's house near *Himois*, in our journey this day, to see if it were possible to find accommodation; but the scene of wretchedness and dirt within his mansion was such, that we never even hinted at the cause of our visit. In the dwelling of our present hostess we had less reason to complain; and her kind attentions would have made worse fare tolerable. We found that it was a part of the economy of the family to knit worsted-stockings for sale; and we bought some, at the rate of one shilling *English* the pair, which were of an excellent quality.

The next morning, *January* 3, we set out for *Åbo*; first estimating the state of the thermometer at nine o'clock A.M. The mercury, according to *Fahrenheit*'s scale, had then fallen to sixteen degrees and a half below *zero*, or forty-eight degrees and a half below the freezing-point. Our first place of relay was a village called *Laitis*,

Laitis.

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which we soon reached, as the distance was not more than three *English* miles and a half. Our next stage, to *Tursanpåre*, was performed with difficulty, the road being blocked up by the snow ; in consequence of which we were compelled to make a rambling circuitous expedition, pulling down hedges, and making our way through the fields. *Tursanpäre.*

Tursanpåre is rather a large village : and here we were agreeably surprised at seeing, as in *England*, a sign-post and sign to denote an inn. Our companion shewed us into a room, where he called for burnt-brandy with sugar and ginger in it ; a mode adopted in the country of making the abominable brandy everywhere met with rather more stomachic and palatable. From *Tursanpåre* we continued our journey to *Niemenkylå* and *Nussis-Nummis*, distant only fourteen *English* miles from *Åbo*. Our *Swedish* companion, who, in his sledge, was wrapped up in blankets, quilts, pelisses, all sorts of woollen and skins, and wore a fur cap upon his head covering his ears and cheeks, rallied us upon our disregard of the cold weather, seeing that we had less clothing, and sometimes cast off even our cloaks ; saying, "It was so like *Englishmen*, to go about naked." But the fact is, that when there is no wind, and the sky is perfectly clear, *Niemenkylä.*

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however diminished the temperature may be, the air is so dry, that a sensation of chilliness is rarely experienced while a person continues in motion, and does not render himself liable to the attacks which take place in going suddenly from a warm room into the cold air.

Nussis-Nummis.

At *Nussis-Nummis* we were detained a short time for horses. We afterwards set out once more; and proceeded to Åbo, where we arrived as it was getting dark. Upon our entering this Town and University, the first thing that struck us was the unusual sound of bells, upon all the horses drawing sledges about the streets. The inhabitants pay their visits attended by this kind of music; and generally in sledges, which are made to close up like our carriages. Upon our arrival, we went to an inn kept by a person of the name of *Scippell*, as being the largest and best in the place. Here being conducted into a very spacious and lofty chamber, used as a public card-room, adjoining to the ball-room, and finding that it was to be heated by means of two stoves, one at either extremity of this cold apartment, we ordered fires in both of them. When the wood, which had been used as fuel, was so far consumed that only the clear embers remained, according to the common custom in the country, we closed the chimneys by means of an iron

Arrival at Åbo.

slider there placed for this purpose. If the inhabitants close up their stoves that the embers may send out heated air into the room, they are always careful to watch lest any appearance of a blue lambent flame upon the wood coals should remain, in which state it would be dangerous to shut the sliders. Unfortunately, not being aware of this critical symptom—which, in fact, denotes the formation and disengagement of *carbonic acid gas*—and finding it difficult to warm so large a room at all, we stopped up the chimneys as soon as we could do so without filling the room with smoke; and the consequence was, that we very narrowly escaped being killed. The author first felt the attack: it came on with great coldness in the extremities, and a tendency to sneeze; followed by a general sensation of shivering over the whole body, and violent headache. Presently, he fell senseless on the floor. His companion, being roused by the noise, and finding him in this situation, attempted to raise him; but was by this time also similarly affected, and had barely strength enough left to call in the servants, who alarmed the people of the house. Luckily, there happened to be in the inn, as a lodger, a young man who was an itinerant Lecturer in Natural Philosophy: as soon as he came into the room, in which many were

Narrow escape from suffocation.

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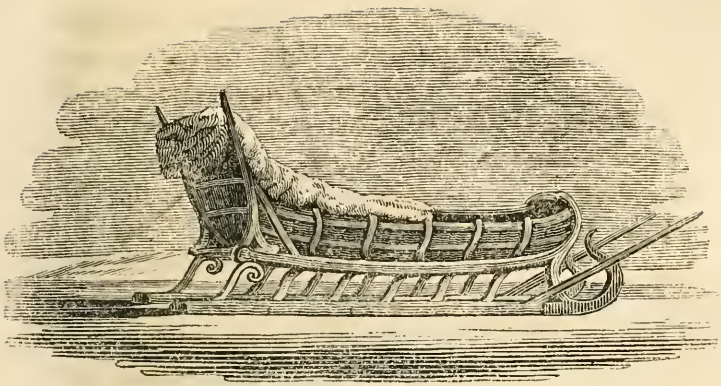
now assembled, he perceived the cause of the accident, and immediately drew back the iron sliders which had closed the chimneys, and opened the doors. Two persons had lost their lives in the same chamber but a short time before, and from the same cause. This young man told us that similar accidents occur frequently, in winter, among the peasants; the chimneys in all their houses being constructed with a sliding-board, to close over the embers of burning wood: but as the severity of the climate always tempts them to shut their chimneys before the *carbonic acid gas* has completely effected its escape, the most fatal consequences ensue. Their mode of treating persons under these attacks is, to carry them out naked into the open air, and rub their bodies with snow until the vital functions are restored. We felt the bad effects of this accident in violent head-ache, which lasted during many days afterwards.



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ÅBO.

State of Åbo—*its situation with regard to other Seminaries of Learning—its Commerce—Visit to the different Professors—*Frantzën—*his genius for poetry—Specimen of one of his Odes—*Porthan—*Account of the University—Difficulties encountered by the Professors—Disasters to which* Åbo *has been liable—Cathedral—Ludicrous mistake—Effect of an Organ upon some Natives of* Savolax—*Interesting* Cippus *in the* Chorus Tottianus—*Statues and Pictures—Inscription in memory of* Catherine, *Widow of* Eric XIV.—*Historical Documents concerning this remarkable Woman—Swedish Legend upon her Daughter's coffin—Manuscripts preserved in a brazen coffer—Histories of* Eric's *Reign—Portraits of*

Luther *and* Melancthon—*Image of* Henry the Martyr—*Chapel of* Olaus, *Bishop of* Åbo—*Monument of a Scotch Officer—University Library—Manuscripts—Typographical Rarities*—Theatrum Anatomicum—*Auditory of Disputations—Professor* Gadolin—*Collection of Minerals—Professor* Hellenius—*Botanic Garden*—Hellenius's *private Collections—Comparative Estimate of the two Universities,* Upsala *and* Åbo—*State of Society.*

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State of Åbo.

ÅBO ranks next to *Stockholm* and *Gothenburg*, in point of grandeur; and, if we except the two last, is the largest town in all *Scandinavia.* It contains ten thousand inhabitants; whereas the city of *Upsala* has only three thousand. Its trade is very considerable; and is carried on chiefly with the interior parts of *Finland,* of which country it has long been the metropolis. Cut off by its situation from any frequent intercourse either with the Academies or commercial cities of Europe, its very name, as a University, rarely reaches the literary circles of the world: yet it boasts of many distinguished men, whose talents have fitted them to shine among the higher classes of polished society. Its men of letters would have done honour to any seat of science. All the towns on the *Finland,* or eastern, side of the Gulph of *Bothniå,* from *Åbo* to *Torneå,* are magnificent, when compared with those on its western shore; although they enter into no com-

parison with the towns of *England*, *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Holland:* therefore the term *magnificent* can only be applied, to any of them, in the comparative manner here specified. The country on the *Finland* side of the Gulph is better cultivated, and more fertile; of course, the inhabitants are more numerous, and richer. It was always considered as the great granary of *Sweden;* and of more consequence, as a possession to their kingdom, than the whole of *Norway*. Its trade has generally been abundant and flourishing. The merchants of *Åbo*, *Wasa*, *Gamla Carleby*, and *Uleåborg*, are persons not only of local but of national importance and consideration: they carry on trade upon a very extensive scale, and to the most distant regions. But upon the western side of the Gulph, if we except *Gefle*, commonly pronounced *Yavely*, there is hardly an individual who may be considered under the respectable title of a merchant.

As it was probable that our stay in this place would be of some duration—both on account of our being obliged to wait for the arrival of our carriage, and also from our curiosity to make ourselves well acquainted with the University of *Åbo*, its Professors, discipline, and state of science—we sent our interpreter, the day after our arrival, to hire lodgings; and were soon

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provided with a very neat set of apartments, having three rooms *en suite*, besides accommodation for the servants, at the price of two rix-dollars, or four shillings *English*, per day, including fire and candles. Accordingly we moved from our inn; and had scarcely taken up our abode in these comfortable chambers, when we received a visit from our former companion, Mr. *Elmgreen*; who told us that the different Professors, to whom we had letters of recommendation, were at their houses, and would be very glad to see us, and to shew us every attention in their power. This kind message convinced us that we were still within the limits of *Swedish* hospitality: and we set out to pay our respects to all of them; beginning with the celebrated Poet of *Sweden* and *Finland*, Professor *Francis Michaël Frantzën*; of whose beautiful *Finnish* Ode, called *Pojkarne*, both a *Swedish* and a *Latin* translation were given in a former volume [1]. *Frantzën* was Professor of History and the Belles Lettres. We had before seen him at *Gamla Carleby*, during our journey in the North of *Finland*, when he was in search of a wife, as we have before mentioned [2]. Upon the occasion of our present visit, we found him in his little study,

Professor *Frantzën*.

(1) See Vol. X. p. 97. (2) Ibid. p. 78.

surrounded by his books; among which, to our surprise, we observed *Addison*'s Spectator, the works of our Poet *Gray*, *Cowper*'s Poems, and several other of our *English* Poets, all in their original language. Observing that we noticed his collection of *English* Authors, he said, "We *Scandinavians* are able to appreciate the beauties of *English* literature, because the thoughts and feelings of your writers are so nearly akin to our own." The truth of this remark will best be exemplified by an effusion of the Professor's own muse, taken from one of the public Newspapers, which he kindly presented to us, upon our asking him for a specimen of his poetry[3]. It has all the characteristic pathos of *English* poetry; being, in fact, composed in the style, and nearly in the metre, adopted by some of our own Poets; such, for example, as *Gray*, in one of his Odes[4]; also *Merrick*[5], *Cotton*[6], *Burns*[7]; and also by Miss

(3) The "Stockholms Poſten, (No. 214,)" for *Thursday, Sept.* 19, 1793—"Thorsdagen, den 19 September, 1793." It had, for signature, the initial and terminal letters of his name, thus written; "*F*——*n*."

(4) See *Gray*'s Ode, "'Twas on a lofty vase's side," &c. Vol. I. p. 6. edit. by *Mathias*.

(5) See his Paraphrase of the 122d *Psalm*—

"The festal morn, my God, is come."

Also on the 65th *Psalm*—

"Ye works of God, on Him alone," &c.

(6) See his *Fire-Side*: "Dear Chloe, while the busy crowd," &c.

(7) See his *Ode on Despondency*: "Oppress'd with grief," &c.

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Carter[1], and by Mrs. *Barbauld*[2], in their odes and hymns. Many other instances, and perhaps some of a higher cast, may occur to the Reader's memory; but these happen to be here recollected, and will suffice to shew the analogy. One of the most striking beauties of the *Swedish* poetry will not, however, be found in any of these examples, although occurring in Professor *Frantzën*'s Ode; namely, the dissyllabic rhyme: of this we before introduced a striking instance in *Pojkarne*; where, for want of an analogous specimen in our own language, the author introduced his own imitation of it, in an *Ode to Enterprise*[3], modelled after the *Swedish* taste. The subject of Professor *Frantzën*'s Ode, which we shall insert in the original language, accompanied by as literal a translation as possible, is this:— Männiſkjans Anſete ("*The Human Face* or *Countenance*"). It is addressed to SELMA; and con-

(1) See particularly Miss *Carter*'s beautiful "*Ode to Wisdom;*" from which the following stanza may be selected as an instance:—

"To me Thy better gifts impart,
Each moral beauty of the heart,
By studious thought refin'd:
For wealth, the smiles of glad content;
For power, its amplest best extent,
An empire o'er my mind."

(2) See Mrs. *Barbauld*'s "*Hymn to Content:*"

"O Thou, the Nymph with placid eye!
O seldom found, yet ever nigh!
Receive my temperate vow!" &c.

(3) See p. 103 of the former Volume.

sists of eleven stanzas, written in the manner already noticed, but with the dissyllabic rhyme at the end of every line, except where the rhythm alternates. A literal translation of it in analogous *English* metre would be difficult, if not impossible. We must therefore be contented with a correct translation in *English* prose; being sensible, at the same time, of the utter impracticability of giving any idea of the poetry by such a version. The Ode, when converted into *English* prose, loses all its beauty, and becomes almost as grotesque as the *French* prose translation of the Odes of *Gray*. The original, therefore, is inserted in a Note [4].

Specimen of one of Professor *Frantzén*'s Poems.

"THE HUMAN COUNTENANCE.

"*ODE TO SELMA.*

I.

"THE sixth day of TIME had spread its purple veil over the cedar forests: the butterfly, on its golden wings, wafted over murmuring brooks, kissed the rose in its bower.

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(4) Männiſkjans Anlete.

Ode til Selma.

I.

Redan hamn, ſin purpurſlöja
öfwer Cederſkogen höja,
Tidens ſjette Dag.
Guldbewingad, öfwer bäcken,
Fjäriln flög til roſenhäcken,
kyſte deß behag.

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II.

"Orient pearls beamed in the watery mirror: the white sails of the swan shone in the shadowy strait: wine reddened in the grape: the dove, tender and innocent, wantoned in the groves of Eden.

III.

"But Nature's highest beauty was not yet: the crown of Creation was wanted; until man, from the dust arose, lifted his countenance in the light of day, and his eyes were opened.

[It is almost impossible to paraphrase the next stanza: to substitute the word *Aurora* for *Frantzén*'s simple and expressive Morgonrodnan, would be forlorn indeed. So also the words Snön på fjällen are but feebly rendered by *Alpine Snows;* the word Fiäl applying to those lofty ridges upon the summits of the highest moun-

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II.

Pärlan ſken i wattnets ſpegel;
Hwita, gländſte Swanens ſegel,
i et ſkuggrikt ſund;
Winet glödde rödt i drufwan;
Om och menlös, lekte dufwan,
uti Edens lund.

III.

Men den högſta ſkönhet feltes
i naturen—kronan feltes
ánn i ſkapelſen;
til deß Männiſkjan ur gruſet
hof ſit anlete i ljuſet,
hof opp ögonen.

tains, where, as upon *Lebanon*, the unmelting snow exhibits a splendid whiteness, that can only be conceived in the mind of persons by whom it has actually been beheld.]

IV.

" The snow of the *Fjåls* was outwhitened: the morning, outreddened, sunk behind the mountains: the star of day hid its diminished lustre.

V.

" To that up-turned countenance which regarded the firmament, all the animal race paid homage; to those eyes, where Loves and Graces smiled, and in which immortal Hope beamed through the tears of sorrow.

IV.

Snön på fjällen höll ej färgen:
Morgonrodnan bakom bergen
sönk förbunklad ner:
Stjernan, som i dagens panna
satt så skön, ej wille stanna
öfwer jorden mer.

V.

Djuren hyllande sig böjde
för de ögon, som sig höjde
ifrån stoftet opp;
der behag och kärlek myste;
der bland sorgens tårar lyste
et odödligt hopp.

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VI.

"All the angelic choir saw with amazement the speaking beauty of the new creation, and looked at the Creator; who impressed it with His own image, beheld His work, and 'saw that it was good'.'

VII.

"Ye, that consider all things but as results of chance! hie ye to the fountain, and, having beheld your own visages reflected, blush, and retire.

VI.

Änglaſkaran ſtår betagen,
ſer de talande behagen,
och på Skaparn ſer.
Skaparn tryckte ſit inſegel
på ſit werk; och i deß ſpegel
ſer ſin bild, och ler.

VII.

I ſom ſkriken: "det är ingen
ſom gett ordningen åt tingen;
Slumpen ſtälde dem;"
Dårar! blott til källan ſtigen:
ſeen ert anlete, och tigen,
rodnen, och gån hem.

(1) "*And smiled*" would be nearer to the original: but this slight deviation, as appropriated to the language of Scripture, without altering the sense, may perhaps be tolerated.

VIII.

"Behold the countenance of the sage! view the image of all that is true, noble, and useful! Catch a glance from the eye of the hero! mark the lineaments of courage, grandeur, and sublimity!

IX.

"Then look on the face of beauty, gentleness, benignity! Lift my SELMA's morning veil from her blooming cheek! See the tender and bashful expression of her eyes! Behold the dark ringlets of her hair, flying careless in the wind.

VIII.

Se den gamle Wiſes panna:
ſe en tafla af det ſanna,
ädla, nyttiga.
Se en blick ur Hjeltens öga:
Se et eldrag af det höga,
ſtora, driſtiga.

IX.

Och det ſköna, milda, ljufwa?—
Lyft min Selmas morgonhufwa
från deß purpurkind.
Se deß ögon: ömma, blyga!
Se deß mörka lockar flyga,
förglöſt, för en wind.

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x.

" O master-piece of nature! Link connecting angels with men! Image of God! art thou not, Garment of the Soul, destined to follow her into the regions of eternity?

xi.

" Yes! ah, yes! angels shall themselves be moved by the regard of SELMA, when they hear her voice amongst them. My SELMA! In the *Hall of Heaven*[1]—in the valleys of Eden—I shall look on thee!"

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x.

Mäſterverk uti naturen,
länk från Änglarne til djuren,
Gudabeläte!
Själens larf i dödligheten;
går du ej til ewigheten,
Mänſkjoanlete?

xi.

Ach! ja: Änglar ämm ſkal röra
Selmas upſyn; då de höra
hennes röſt bland ſig.
Selma! ämm i himlens ſalar
Ämm i Elyſeens dalar,
får jag ſe på dig!

F——n.

(1) In the original, " i himlens ſalar;" in which expression we may perhaps recognise, as it were, an involuntary allusion, on the part of a *Scandinavian* poet, to the old *Gothic* mythology of his ancestors, the VALHALLA, or *Hall of Odin*.

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Many other poems of Professor *Frantzën* lie scattered among the almost-forgotten Newspapers of *Åbo* and *Stockholm:* for the expense of printing in this country is such a bar to their being collected and published together, that no other printed copies of his works can be referred to. In the *Åbo* Gazette, called Åbo Tidning, published while we were in *Åbo*, there appeared a long poem, which he also acknowledged as his composition[2]. Without a knowledge of the *Swedish* language, it is impossible to form any correct idea, either of their merit or demerit. But Professor *Frantzën* also wrote poetry in the language of *Finland*, being himself a native of that country: and among the *Swedes* he was always esteemed as the best poet they had. In a note to the latest of his poems, which we have now mentioned, he says, that *Finland*, in the *Finska* language, is called Suomis.

After this visit to the *Professor of History*, we went to the house of the most learned scholar in the University, *Henry Gabriel Porthan*, one of *Porthan.*

(2) The Åbo Tidning made its appearance, for the first time, on *Wednesday, Jan.* 8, 1800: Nos. 1 and 2 being published together. It was in these first numbers that we saw this poem by *Frantzën*, entitled Finlands Upodling; in which, speaking of *Finland*, he says—

O mina fäders bygd! o Finland! ſkal omſider
Du äfven lyfta dig bland jordens länder opp.

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the Professors belonging to the *Faculty of Philosophy*, and styled, in the *Index Prælectionum* of the University, the *Regius Professor of Eloquence*.

Account of the University.

The University of *Åbo* consists of a *Chancellor*; a *Vice-Chancellor*; the *Professors*, and their adjuncts; *Magistri Docentes*; and teachers of modern languages, fencing, and music. The Chancellor, at this time, was the Count *Charles Adam Wachtmeister*; its Vice-Chancellor, Doctor *James Gadolin*, Bishop of *Åbo*: and the names and titles of all the *Professors* are given in the *Appendix* to this Volume[1]. It is usual here, as in other Universities, for those who hold public disputations in the Schools, to read, in Latin, a written *Thesis*: which *Thesis*, however, in *Åbo*, does not necessarily relate to the subject of their public exercise; but being paid for by the Student who keeps the *Act*, and written by one of the Professors, and afterwards printed, enables the Professor, if he choose, thus to publish one of his own Dissertations. We found Professor *Porthan* engaged in carrying on a work of this kind: and the manner in which he accomplished it will serve to shew the nature of the obstacles which all the Professors here have to encounter; wanting those facilities of com-

(1) See the *Index Prælectionum*, in the *Appendix*.

munication with the literary world, which are found in Universities endowed with larger funds to defray the expenses of printing works of science. He had prepared a new edition of Bishop *Juusten*'s "*Chronicon Episcoporum Finlandensium*," illustrated by his own valuable notes; in which there are frequent allusions to the history and antiquities of *Finland*. This work he presented to us, in the form of a bundle of printed *Theses*, which he had thus prepared for the use of the Students[1]: and it is owing to his kindness that the author was able to collect also a series of the *Academic Dissertations* of the University of *Åbo*, for nearly half a century[2]. An examination of the principal subjects treated of in these Dissertations will enable the Reader to form for himself a tolerably correct estimate of the state of science in this seminary

(1) This work is thus mentioned in a Note to the "*Specimen Historiæ Litterariæ Fennicæ*," one of the *Theses* printed at *Åbo*, in 1793. "Paulus Juusten auctor est *Chronici Episcoporum Finlandensium*, quod primus vulgavit ill". Nettelbladt (in Schwediſche Bibliothek, Erſtes Stück, No. 2. p. 62—90.) jam vero iterum cum Annotationibus uberrimis editum a cel. Prof. Porthan, cujus operis xxx Particulæ hucusque prodierunt."—This work being completed at the time of the author's arrival, Professor *Porthan* presented a copy of it to him; and the author has since transmitted it to *Edinburgh*, to be deposited in the *Library of Advocates* there. It is perhaps the only copy of it extant in *Great Britain*.

(2) See the List of the principal Dissertations, given in the *Appendix*.

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of education for the youth of *Finland* and *Sweden*, of which we shall have more to say in the sequel. The fate of such a scholar as *Porthan* is greatly to be regretted by the literary world; because, being a native of *Finland*, and deeply versed in all that related to its history and antiquities, and himself an accomplished scholar, well read in other branches of history and antiquities, he possessed the ability, if he had possessed the means, of giving information to the world upon a subject of all others the least known; namely, the origin of the *Finlanders*[1] and *Laplanders*. He spoke the *Latin* language, as if it had been his mother-tongue; but with that peculiarity of pronunciation belonging to all foreigners, and with a degree of volubility which rendered it sometimes difficult to apprehend exactly his meaning. The few facts which were gathered from him, during the frequent conversations we had with him, will of course be stated; but, from the little we thus gained, we could only be convinced of the extent of the loss sustained by the literary world, in not having better means of appreciating his various acquirements. *Åbo*, interdicted

(1) "Nulla enim illarum, aut in lapidibus, cippisque sepulcralibus, aut in aliis vetustatis monumentis, reperiri potuerunt vestigia." *Porthan. Hist. Biblioth. Acad. Aboënsis, p.* 3.

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from all communication with *Petersburg*, and having little intercourse even with *Stockholm*, owing to the peculiar circumstances of its situation, cannot be considered as a favourable spot for the interests of literature; yet such has been the merits of its Professors, that some of them, to whom we shall presently allude, have caused their names, in spite of every obstacle, to be heard in the more-favoured walks of science. The history of *Åbo* is of considerable antiquity; but few places have been more liable to vicissitudes, or exposed to greater devastations. During the wars of *Sweden* and *Russia*, it has often been sacked and laid waste: we are not, therefore, to wonder that few monuments of its antient state of dignity are now in existence. Even the bricks of which its buildings consisted, were carried off by the *Russians*, and taken to *Petersburg*; the first-built structures erected in that city being made of the materials taken from the houses in *Åbo*. Its bridge, constructed over the small river *Äeura*[2] (which flows through the city, and falls into the Gulph, at the distance of half a *Swedish* mile from the place), was once a single arch of stone: but

Disasters to which *Åbo* has been liable.

(2) We have written the name of this river correctly: it is pronounced *Aura*; and as *jocki*, pronounced *yocky*, signifies 'a small river,' it is called *Aura-yocky*.

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this was destroyed by the *Russians*, from whose ravages *Åbo* has so often suffered; and it is now of wood. All the timber which the *Russians* found upon the spot, among the buildings and elsewhére, they employed in building the galleys with which they removed the spoils of the city.

The earliest account of *Åbo* is contained in the work of Professor *Porthan*, before mentioned[1]; which, however, it is almost useless to cite, as one copy only of the work exists in *Great Britain*. It is there stated, that, about the year 1198 of our æra, during the episcopacy of *Folquinius*, the third in order of the *Finland* Bishops, *Åbo* was consumed by fire, in consequence of the devastations made by the *Rutheni*, or *Russians;* whose practice it always has been, when instigated by the desire of plunder, to set fire to the cities, towns, or villages, liable to their predatory warfare[2]; by this means forcing the inhabitants to quit their hiding-places, and come

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(1) His edition of Juusten's "*Chronicon Episcoporum Finlandensium.*" See a former Note.

(2) "His jam allatis accedit, quod variæ hostium, *præcipue Russorum crudeles in Fennia populationes*, non modo multa quæ a privatis hominibus in notitiam posterorum annotata fortassis essent, nobis sustulerint, sed varias etiam collectiones veterum documentorum publicas dissipaverint ac destruxerint."—*Specimen Historiæ Litterariæ Fennicæ*, p. 4. *Aboæ, Typis Frenckellianis.*

forth with their effects[3]. Notwithstanding its frequent losses, and the injuries to which it was continually exposed, it began to be considered among the chief cities of *Sweden* so early as the fifteenth century; carrying on its commerce chiefly with the *Germans*[4]. But from the year 1198, down to this period, the history of *Åbo* is nothing more than a catalogue of disasters, conflagrations, and catastrophes of every description. Heaven and earth seemed to combine for its destruction; for after being three times totally destroyed by common fire, it was in the year 1458 destroyed by lightning. After this, in 1473, it was again burned down. In 1509, it was sacked and burned by the *Danes*[5]. Three successive conflagrations followed, in the

(3) In this manner they burnt the city of *Moscow*, in the moment of its capture by the *French* army: and it has afforded an amusing lesson of the wretched shifts of party in this country, in observing the eagerness with which, after accusing the *French* soldiers of this act of plunder, a few artful Politicians, who maintain any opinion for interested purposes, suddenly veered round, and endeavoured to establish a belief that the *burning of Moscow* was a sublime example of LOYALTY and PATRIOTISM on the part of the *Russians*. LOYALTY AND PATRIOTISM AMONG SLAVES AND THIEVES!!! Mention this act of *Loyalty* and *Patriotism*, Reader! in Moscow, and see how the *Russians* themselves will laugh at thy credulity!

(4) PORTHAN, in Annotationibus ad *Chronicon Justinianum*, p. 528.

(5) "Anno 1509, exercitus Regis Danorum JOHANNIS I. *Aboam* ex improviso occuparet, totamque urbem hostiliter dissiperet, Ecclesiam Cathedralem multis pretiosis rebus et clinodiis quam plurimis spoliando, et quod hic præcipue nominandum, libros meliores auferrent Dani; qua clade funesta, magnam quoque partem conquisitorum hinc inde litterariorum monimentorum res patrias illustrantium periisse, dubio caret."

Specimen Hist. Litt. Fennicæ, p. 4. *Aboæ, Typis Frenckellianis.*

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years 1546, 1549, and 1552; and as often reduced the city to ashes.

Cathedral.

After such a series of calamities, we may in vain look for traces of the magnificent ornaments once lavished upon its Cathedral. These have entirely disappeared: but the structure itself, "PER TOT DISCRIMINA RERUM," marvellously remains, and still constitutes the principal object of curiosity in the place. The style of architecture observed in the interior is Gothic, but the outside exhibits a pile of plain brickwork. The roof is of the most chaste Gothic; that is to say, simple and unadorned, without the intricate combinations and traces of the florid Gothic; but plain, elegant, light, and lofty. The manner in which light is thrown in from side-windows among the arches produces a pleasing delusion. To a person standing at the altar, and regarding the whole length of the nave, not a window is visible; and yet strong masses of light and shadow, powerfully contrasted with each other, are displayed with wonderful art and effect, such as we had not seen in any similar fabric: which is the more remarkable, as the notion prevalent in *Åbo* is, that this cathedral was built by an *English* architect[1]. The altar, the principal

(1) This was also afterwards noticed by another traveller, Mr. *Robert Ker*

ais e, and various parts of the building, were crowded with wretched paintings; most of them, it is true, of ancient date, but none of them of the smallest merit. They are placed after the usual mode of arrangement in Roman-Catholic churches. Over the altar is a large picture of the Crucifixion, a wretched piece of daubing. In different parts of the chancel, there are others of a like character: indeed, the whole internal appearance of this Cathedral would induce a stranger to believe that the Roman-Catholic religion was even now professed in *Åbo*. Even the reliques once venerated here are still preserved in the Sacristy; but they are shewn merely as curiosities to visitants. The organ is very large; and its excellence is considered as equal in all respects to its external magnificence[2]: it stands at the western extremity of the nave opposite to the altar.

A mistake of ours occasioned much mirth during the first visit that we paid to this Cathedral. As it was our wish to attend Divine

Ludicrous mistake.

Ker Porter, who visited *Åbo* in *December* 1807. "The church is large, and of brick; built, they tell me, by a Metropolitan, named *Henry*, who was an Englishman." *Travelling Sketches*, vol. II. p. 84. *Lond.* 1809.

(2) The organ may be ranked amongst the best in Europe: its tones, indeed, equalled any I had ever heard." *Ibid.*

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Service, we repaired thither, *Sunday, January* 5, the second day after our arrival, and found a very crowded congregation. Seeing an empty pew on the northern side of the nave, we entered, and took possession of the seats; but we had no sooner done this, than we discovered that we were the objects of universal derision among all who were present. The women tittered; and the men, laughing and whispering to each other, frequently regarded us, without its being possible for us to divine the cause of the amusement we had thus afforded. At last we observed the true reason: we had inadvertently seated ourselves on the female side of the aisle; the women, as in all the northern churches of *Europe*, being separated from the male part of the congregation; and the two sexes occupying different sides of the building. As soon as we found out what was the matter, we rose from our seats, and joined that part of the assembly which consisted only of men: but the laughter, which had before been subdued, and kept within bounds, now broke forth and became more general than ever, when it was perceived that we were conscious of the mistake we had made.

After the Service ended, we repaired to the organ-loft, with a view of conducting thither

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Effect of an Organ upon some Natives of *Savolax*.

some of the *Finland* peasants, whom we had observed expressing their astonishment, which amounted almost to fear, whenever the organ was heard. They were some of the wild race of the *Finns* of *Savolax*, who had been attracted by curiosity into the Cathedral. Having conducted them into the organ-gallery, we prevailed upon the organist to allow them to touch the keys with their fingers; but the moment any sounds were produced, they started back and were evidently alarmed. The organist then played a voluntary, and introduced one of their own national airs: the effect it had upon them was singular enough; it changed their apprehensions into immoderate mirth: roaring with laughter, like so many savages, they began to imitate the motions which the organist made with his arms and feet; at the same time, being altogether unable to account for the sounds they heard, as these were varied, so their starting was renewed, being always followed afterwards by laughter, and seizing hold of each other as for protection. The shocks of an electrical apparatus could hardly have produced greater agitation in persons who have not felt their influence, than did the solemn tones of this fine instrument among these simple *Finlanders*, who had evidently never before heard any thing

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similar; although by no means utter strangers to all musical sounds, however striking to them the difference between the notes of an organ and their own rude musical instruments, to the sound of which their poetry has been sung for many ages[1]. This organ, together with many other donations of more importance to the inhabitants of *Åbo*, were the gifts of a Mr. *Whitefoot*, a native of *Lubeck*, once a wealthy merchant of this city. His portrait, at full length, in the old *English* dress, is placed in the centre of the organ. Two other pictures also, the heads of himself and his wife, appear, one on either side of the altar. These examples of public munificence do not seem to have met with much

(1) "Atqui ut omnes fere antiqui populi, antequam artis scribendi notitiam sibi compararent, *Poësin* tamen, *Musicam*que cum ea conjunctam, excoluerunt; ita sua Fenni quoque nostri semper habuerunt carmina, quæ suo idiomate Runoot adpellavere, neque musicam variis instrumentis adhibitis, tractare neglexerunt: quæ tamen nec fabricam valde artificiosam prodidisse, nec teretibus nostri ævi Musicorum auribus placuisse, facile intelligitur." *Specimen Historiæ Litterariæ Fennicæ*, *p.* 9. *Aboæ, Typis Frenckellianis.*

Acerbi speaks of the antient melody of the *Finlanders*, called *Runa*. "It consists of two periods," he says, "or bars of five crotches each, which make two periods of eight notes." See *Acerbi's Travels*, vol. I. p. 284. *Lond.* 1802.

We have figured and described a kind of dulcimer, or lyre, with five strings, in the Ninth Volume, p. 547, which the *Finns* make use of, and which they call *Kendele*, or *Kentelet*. "Nomina ejusmodi instrumentorum *Fennis* vernacula, nec a vicinis gentibus mutata, hoc demonstrant: e. q. Kandele, nablium, Torwi," &c. *Annot. Specimen Hist. Litt. Fenn. p.* 9.

gratitude. Another public benefactor to the city died, as it is said, in such extreme poverty in Åbo, that the sexton refused to toll the knell for his decease, because no one would engage to pay him for so doing.

Interesting *Cippus*, in the *Chorus Tottianus*.

We repeated our visit to this Cathedral. There is no building in all *Scandinavia* more worth seeing. The best view of its beautiful roof is from the altar. On the right-hand, in the eastern part of the nave, close to the entrance of the chancel, is a small sepulchral shrine belonging to the Tott family, called *Chorus Tottianus;* which contains a monument of such singular interest, that we were surprised to find no mention made of it by any of the travellers who have preceded us in this route. It is nothing less than the tablet erected to the memory of Catharine, wife of Eric XIV., whose remarkable history we shall presently allude to. The mouldering reliques of her once beautiful form lie deposited in a vault below. This shrine, or chapel, is fenced with iron gates: within appears a magnificent marble monument, erected to the memory of Count *Achatius Tott*, grandson of *Catharine*, and his second wife *Christina Brahe*. Their effigies, of the size of life, marvellously well sculptured for the age in which they were executed, are placed upon a

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cenotaph; the bodies being in oak coffins covered with tin, in the vault beneath; together with those of *Catharine*, and *Sigrid* her daughter by *Eric* XIV., the mother of *Achatius Tott*. Owing to their relationship to *Eric* XIV., the ignorant verger had confounded their history, and shewed the two statues of Count *Achatius* and *Christina* as those of *Eric* and *Catharine*. There are, moreover, two pictures, whole lengths, of the same persons, placed above the monument, painted in *Vandyke*'s manner. The face of *Christina* expresses a degree of mildness bordering upon melancholy. She was evidently one of the beauties of her day, rather below the middle stature, with delicate features, fair complexion, and light hair. In her hand she holds a plume of feathers. In viewing these statues and pictures, we seemed to be admitted into the midst of *Eric*'s family; and only wished we could have made them open their mouths, and tell us a little more truth than historians have done concerning this monarch and his family. The marble effigy of *Achatius Tott* represents him in complete armour: and the two figures of himself and *Christina* are evidently portraits, from the minute attention to accuracy which the sculptor has shewn in all that relates to their persons and habits. The monument

Statues and Pictures.

was erected in 1688; and we found one of the four columns belonging to it thus inscribed with the artist's name: "*Petruz Schultz, S.R. Sculptor, invenit et fecit.*" In the figure of *Achatius Tott* we recognised the genuine costume of the country; a *Scandinavian* custom of letting the hair grow so as almost to obscure the eyes on the two sides of the face, falling to the shoulders on either side, and lying quite flat upon the top of the head. This practice may be observed over all *Sweden* and *Finland.* There is a regiment of cavalry in the *Swedish* service, in which this costume is remarkably preserved; the officers and men wearing their hair in two long braids, which hang like pig-tails, one on each side of the face, in front of the ears, fastened, at their extremities, with clasps of lead. This is a national observance, attended to with as much scrupulous devotion, as among the *Tchernomorski Cossacks* the preservation of a single braided lock of hair, which extends from the crown of the head, and is worn tucked behind the ear. Nothing can be conceived less becoming than the two side-locks of the *Swedes;* but they give a certain degree of martial fierceness to the countenance, which perhaps may explain the reason why the antient *Britons,* and other barbarous tribes, adopted the same practice.

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Over the cenotaph are placed the armorial ensigns of the two families of *Tott* and *Brahe;* and above all appears the image of our Saviour, with the cross, between the figures of two angels [1].

But that which possesses a greater degree of

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(1) This is the Inscription upon the Monument of *Achatius Tott:* it is in capital gilded letters :—

" Illustrissimi Herois ac Domini, D: ni *Achatii Tott*, Comitis de Carleborg, Liberi Baronis de Sjundeby, Domini in Ekholmsund, Lehals-Lähn, Liuxala, et Gerkenäes, Equitis aurati, Regni Sveciæ Senatoris et Campi-Mareschalli; natalis annus, a reddita salute M.D XCVIII. dies IV. mensis Junii, locus aula Gerkenäes Nylandiæ fuit. Mortalitatemque rursus post vitam, rebus domi atque foris, in aula et bello præclare gestis, GUSTAVO MAGNO, Regum exemplari, magna ex parte consecratam, A: o M.DC.XL. die XV Julii, ætatis ultra quadragesium biennio in aula sua Lafwila Parochiæ Euraminne exuit. Facta non vicini solum, et quos arma Patriæ attigere stupent, sed Italus pariter et Iberus atque Galli loquuntur. Ita post annorum a prima ætate complurium militiam in insigni Comitis *Jacobi de la Gardie*, Regni Marschi per Moscoviam expeditione incepta, et inde Regis contra Polonum in Borussia auspiciis continuatam, ac denique interjecta in castra exterorum peregre transcursione etiam sub Augusto Bello Sveco-Germanico probatam, dignus, cui primarium in militia Campi-Mareschalli munus, et cum exercitu delecto agendi plena daretur potestas, quam in Saxonia inferiori exerceret, a Maximo Rege habitus, in Pomeraniæ Ducatibus, Gryphisvalda, Wismaria, et Rostochio, in Bremensi, Stada, et Boxtahuda, locis munitissimis occupatis, exercitum Cæsareum eis partibus penitus profligavit. Hæc inter Equitis aurati splendor ipsi a summo virtutum æstimatore tributus, hinc Senatoria in victrici Regno dignitas, et post fata quoque Comitatus honos additus. Genus ipsi Paternum ex familia Sveciæ Daniæque a multis retro sæculis multo celeberrima, Regibusque cognata. Materno pariter Filia ERICI XIV. Regis Sveciæ legitima, Genetrice clarus. Bis maritus; primas cum illustrissima Domina *Sigride Bjelke*, contraxit nuptias, atque ex ea filii, Comitis *Claudii Tott*, virtutibus, qua toga, qua sago inclyti parens; secundis, illustrissimæ Dominæ, D: næ *Christinæ Brahe*, Comitissæ de Wisingsborg &c. sese junxit, quæ superstes hoc manibus piissimis vovit monumentum."

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Inscription in memory of *Catharine*, Widow of *Eric* XIV.

interest in this Choir, although a monument of much less splendour, is a plain marble tablet, placed against the wall, which appears upon the left, to one entering; erected, as was before stated, to the memory of CATHARINE the Wife of ERIC XIV. She was the Grandmother of *Achatius Tott*, by his mother *Sigrid*'s side. It has this Inscription, in capital letters:—

CONDUNTUR

HOC BUSTO

CINERES

NATALIBUS, VIRTUTE, FORTUNA QUONDAM INCLYTÆ IMPRIMIS KATHARINÆ, DOMINÆ DE LIUXALA QUAM ERICUS XIV. SUEC. GOTH. QUE REX, THORI REGII SOCIETATE DIGNAM HABUIT; EADEMQUE POST VIDUITATEM AD ANNUM USQUE ÆTATIS LXIII. SUMMA VITÆ MORUMQUE PIETATE ET INNOCENTIA TRANSACTAM, PLACIDE IN AULA LIUXALA ANNO RESTAURATÆ SALUTIS MDCXII. OBIIT. DEHINC FILIÆ EJUSDEM EX THORO REGIO LEGITIME CONCEPTÆ DOMINE SIGRIDIS, QUÆ CONJUNX PERILLUSTRIS DOMINI HENRICI TOTT, PERMAGNO HEROI ACHATIO TOTT GENITRIX EXSTITIT: QUEM TABULA EX ADVERSIO POSITA FUSIUS DEMONSTRAT. ANNO DOMINI M DC LXXVIII. ILLUSTRISSIMUS R. S. DROTZETUS COMES PETRUS BRAHE, CURAVIT HOC EPITAPHIUM FIERI NOMINE AC SUMPTIBUS ILLUSTRISSIMÆ COMITISSÆ, DOMINÆ CHRISTINÆ BRAHE, NATÆ COMITISSÆ DE WISINGSBORG, COMITISSÆ DE CARLEBORG, LIB. BARON. DE SJUNDEBY, DOMINÆ DE SKOFTEBY, EKHOLMSUND ET LEHALS LÄNH. SIMUL DONAVIT HUIC ECCLESIÆ CATHEDRALI ABOENSI MILLE IMPERIALES.

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Historical Documents concerning this remarkable woman.

By this inscription, which really becomes a curious historical document, we learn some particulars respecting *Catharine*, of which history is silent—That after the imprisonment of her husband, and probably after his death, she withdrew, far from the *Swedish* Court, to the tranquil solitudes of *Finland*, where she lived in unmolested retirement, and died after attaining an advanced age—That her daughter *Sigrid*, whom she had borne to ERIC XIV., married *Henry Tott*, from which union descended Count *Achatius Tott*, whose monument we have described. *Liuxala*, mentioned as the place of her residence and death, is a large farm or manorial seat in the parish of *Kangasala*, in *Tavasthûs*, where the remains of the house may still be seen in which *Catharine* ended her days: it was built by Count *Tott*, who was Governor of that province.

A vault below this Choir contains, as before mentioned, the simple coffin which enshrines the mouldering reliques of that once beautiful female whom ERIC XIV. so passionately loved. The ceremony of her marriage to the king took place upon the *sixth* day of *July* 1568, the year after his cruel murder of the whole family of the *Stures;* and that of her coronation, which was celebrated with the utmost pomp, followed

the day afterwards: and from the inscription upon her memorial tablet, we learn that her death did not happen until forty-four years after her coronation: but the first part of this interval was to her a period of tempestuous trouble, for the very year of her coronation was that of her husband's dethronement. Beside her remains, there are also here, preserved in coffins of brass, oak, and wood, faced with tin, the remains of other members of the *Tott* Family, with *Swedish* inscriptions; which, however, are so nearly *English*, that any *English* reader, accustomed to *Scottish-English*, or *Old English*, might understand their meaning. For an example, we shall give the legend which appears in capital letters upon the coffin of *Sigrid*, king *Eric the Fourteenth's* daughter, by *Catharine*, who also lies buried here. The coffin is of wood, faced with tin-plate.

SIGRID, KONUNG ERIC DEN FJORTONDES DOTTER, FRU TIL LJUXALA, SJUNDEBY, OCH GERCKENÅES, BLEF FÖDD ANNO MDLIV OCH ASSOMNADE I HERRANOM PÅ LJUXALA GÅRD DEN XXIV APRILIS ANNO MDCXXXIII.

We had some hope of discovering other historical information connected with the state of

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Manuscripts preserved in a brazen coffer.

Sweden during the period of *Eric*'s sufferings after his deposition, upon being permitted to examine the contents of a brazen chest which was shewn to us, within a wooden covering, and which contains several manuscripts written upon parchment. They consisted, however, of documents which perhaps will only interest the *Swedish* antiquaries. We shall briefly notice them in the order of their dates.—The first is an *Epicedium* upon the funeral of *Catharine*, wife of *Eric* XIV, in 1612. The second, an *Epicedium* upon the re-interment of her daughter *Sigrid*, written in 1635, when her body was removed from the church of *Råndåmåkensi* to the Cathedral at *Åbo*. The third is an *Epithalamium*, in the *German* language, upon the marriage of *Achatius Tott* with *Christina Brahe*, the *seventh* of *October*, 1638. The fourth gives an account of the heroic deeds of *Achatius Tott;* and the solemnities observed at his funeral, *September* 29, 1640. The fifth is the patent of nobility granted to his son *Claudius Tott*, by Queen CHRISTINA, *March* 20, 1652. The sixth, with thirteen signets annexed to it, dated *Ekholmsund, November* 6, 1639, is nothing less than the dowry granted by *Achatius Tott* to his second wife, *Christina Brahe*.

Few persons perhaps would have bestowed

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Histories of *Eric*'s reign.

the same pains that we did, in ransacking the chambers of the dead for historical information connected with the history of such a gloomy superstitious tyrant as ERIC XIV.; for whose bad character some writers seem anxious to apologise, by pointing out a few brilliant points that appeared amidst its dark shades; and also by maintaining, that the charges brought against him were calumnies invented to justify the conduct of his brothers, by whom he was dethroned and imprisoned[1]. It is just possible that his faults were extenuated by those writers who lived under his successors; and perhaps crimes were attributed to him of which he was never guilty: as, in the history of our *English* Kings, we find a remarkable instance in the odium cast upon the character of *Richard the Third*, by the historians who endeavoured, by their calumnies, to gratify his mean successor, *Henry the Seventh*[2],

(1) "Il y a néanmoins beaucoup d'Ecrivains qui font passer ces accusations pour des calomnies. Ils prétendent qu'elles ont été en partie inventées pour justifier la conduite des Ducs ses frères, et en partie répandues par les parens de *Joran Peerson*, afin de rejeter sur la personne du Roi les crimes de ce Ministre."—*Hist. de Suède, par Puffendorf, tome* II. *p.* 3. *Amst.* 1743.

(2) *Shakspeare* has not exempted himself from the list of these: and many of our erroneous notions of *Richard the Third*'s character are owing to prejudices founded on the calumnies with which our great poet sought to gratify *Henry the Seventh*'s grand-daughter, *Elizabeth*. Setting aside all the arguments adduced by *Buck*, whom *Rapin* charges with partiality, there is one observation concerning *Richard the Third*, which has escaped *Bacon*,

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and the members of that family. But, in viewing the annals of *Eric's* reign, a sensation of indignant regret is always excited, when we read the story of those deeds of blood by which the whole race of the *Stures* were exterminated. It is impossible to exculpate *Eric;* because one of these innocent victims was immolated, and in the most cowardly manner, by his own hand[1]. In his character, *Eric* XIV. seems most to have resembled *Paul* of *Russia*—a wretched compound of superstition, perfidy, lust, and cruelty; and, with all these vices, occasionally irritated by flights of insanity[2]. But the story of *Eric*'s career

Bacon, in the beginning of his Life of *Henry the Seventh;* speaking, as it were, volumes:—"*Quanquam autem Princeps fuisset in militari virtute probatus, atque honoris Anglici assertor strenuus, legislator item bonus, in levamen et solatium vulgi.*" Vid. Histor. Regni Regis Henrici Sept. vol. V. p. 6. *Amst.* 1662. And with regard to the contrast exhibited in *Richard*'s successor, how admirably is it displayed by *Rapin*'s delineation of the Royal Miser; the very personification of Avarice—tall, lank, with a long and thin face, lean like the rest of his body, and a countenance exciting fear and distrust.

(1) See the account of his vile stratagems for the extermination of the noble family of the STURES; one of whom, *Nils Sture*, he stabbed with a poignard, when rising from his bed in prison; who drawing the weapon from the wound, kissed it, and presented it to his murderer:—and all the rest were cruelly massacred. "Carcerem invadens *Nicolai Sture*, in lecto jacentem, et sibi reverenter assurgentem, proprio sauciavit pugione. Quem *Nicolaus* ex gravi pectoris vulnere protinùs extractum, et osculo humiliter tactum, percussori obtulit, indeque furens Princeps nonnihil mitigatus abiit." *Chronol. Scond. apud Messenium, tom.* VI. *p.* 44. *Stockholm*, 1700.

(2) "Non diffiteor regem *Ericum* quandoque parum sani fuisse cerebri; sed istud per intervalla delirium quidam alii, velut hæreditariam à matre, simili mentis vitio nonnunquam laborante, contractam reputant labeculam." *Ibid. p.* 36.

has never been either fully or fairly told[3]: and it is rather remarkable, that our knowledge should be so imperfect of the life of a sovereign Prince, the wooer at once both of Queen *Elizabeth* and of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*[4]. *Puffendorf* has collected very little upon the subject; and the more original sources, to which we have referred, do not supply the deficiency. At least a dozen romances might be written upon the subjects of *Eric*'s amorous adventures. His amours with *Catharine*, when related with a due attention to truth, have all the air of a romance. She was the daughter of a peasant of *Medelpad*, and gained a livelihood, when a child, by selling nuts in the market at *Stockholm*[5]. Here *Eric* first saw her; and, being struck by her beauty, had her brought to the palace; where she was taken into the service, and brought up under the auspices, of his

(3) There is a History of Eric XIV. by *Olaf Celsius*; and the works of *Loccenius* and *Messenius* may be referred to; but the accounts of the *Swedish* history, at this period, are, for the most part, *jejune*.

(4) *Puffendorf* ascribes the chief part of *Eric*'s bad conduct to the evil counsels of one *Peerson*, his favourite. His secretary, *Helsing*, endeavouring to put himself upon his guard against following *Peerson*'s advice, was stabbed by the king with his own hand.—*Hist. de Suède, tome* I. *p.* 438. *Amst.* 1743.

(5) "Erat Catharina humili admodum genere propagata, utpotè filia cujusdam *Magni*, agricolis nati parentibus, in *Medelpadia*, qui decurionis nactus officium, inter præsidiarios castri *Stockholmensis* milites, eò migravit, ubi filia tenuem parentum sustentationem quopiam simul lucello alleviatura, in foro nuces escario habuit venales."—*Chronol. Scond. apud Messenium, tom.* VI. *p.* 56. *Stockh.* 1700.

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sister, the Princess *Elizabeth*[1]. As she grew up, he fell so desperately in love with her, that she was suspected, by the people of that age, of having given to him a *love-potion*[2]. After his deposition, little is known either of her or of his history, except that his own sufferings were in some degree proportioned to his enormous offences. Among the different dungeons in which he was confined, he was for some time incarcerated in *Åbo-hûs*, a fortress at the mouth of the river upon which *Åbo* is situate[3]: and there is a record of her death and burial at *Åbo*, A.D. 1612, in the valuable work of *Messenius*[4]; the only allusion, perhaps, made to her in his-

(1) "In Gynecæo deinceps principis *Elizabethæ* liberaliter profecto educabatur." *Chron. Scond. apud Messenium, ibid.*

(2) "Quamquam nonnulli existiment, quodam regem *Ericum* philtro a *Catharinâ* propinato, imprimis usque amantem ipsius evasisse, et posteà redditum indè amentem." *Ibid.*

(3) "The castle, in the language of the country called *Åbo-hûs*, is situated at the north of the river *Aura*, upon a cape bounded on three sides by the water. This is one of the most antient fortresses of the land. It was well fortified under the kings *Albrecht*, *Charles* VIII., *Knutson*, and *Gustavus Vasa*. Besides four towers, which were destined to oppose the approach of an enemy to the harbour, it had on the south side a high wall, with a triple rampart of earth, and a double ditch. A new building has been added to the old structure, but in a different style of masonry. *Åbo-hûs* was the residence of Duke *John*, and the prison of *Eric* XIV. in the sixteenth century."—*Acerbi's Travels, vol.* I. *p.* 214. *Lond.* 1802.

(4) "MDCXII. *Catharina*, regis *Erici* vidua, hoc tempore clausit vitæ periodum, ABOGLÆ sepulta."—*Epitome Chronol. Scond. apud Messen. ed. Peringskiöld, tom.* XV. *p.* 156. *Stockholm*, 1705.

tory, after her husband's dethronement, which happened forty-four years before, on the 28th of *September* 1568.

In a room adjoining the Sacristy are huddled together all the images and symbols of superstitious mummery, which belonged to the Cathedral when it was a place of Roman-Catholic worship; — doubtless, therefore, before the whole-length portraits of *Luther* and *Melancthon* adorned this building, which are now seen in the principal aisle. That of *Luther* has this inscription:

Portraits of *Luther* and *Melancthon*.

DOCTOR MARTINUS LUTHERUS VIVIT.
PESTIS ERAM VIVUS
MORIENS ERO MORS
TUA PAPA.
1684.

Upon that of *Melancthon* are these words:

MAGISTER PHILIPPUS MELANCTHON.
ROM. VIII. 31.—SI DEUS PRO NOBIS, QUIS CONTRA NOS?
ANNO 1684.

Over one of the doors is a gilded wooden image of St. *Henry the Martyr;* which the reforming *Iconoclasts* have suffered to remain in its original position, as being the effigy of the Patron Saint of *Finland,* the first preacher of the Gospel

Image of *Henry* the *Martyr*.

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in this country. In former times, such was the reverence entertained with respect to this image, that it was only exhibited upon days of public festivity. The old shrine which inclosed it still remains, together with the doors once folded over it. Many things within this venerable pile serve to call to mind the desolating hand of war, which has so often ravaged this part of *Finland*. From its very situation, *Åbo* will always be liable to commotion, so long as the possession of the rich corn territories, the forests, and lakes of *Finland*, may invite a struggle between the contending interests of *Sweden* and *Russia*. Accordingly, the memorials of those warriors who have fallen in these struggles are the first things to strike a spectator in his visit to the Cathedral. Swords, with crape-covered handles, are seen suspended from the walls; and many a long wordy legend, upon the tombs by which he is surrounded, speak

> ——— "Tales of iron wars;
> Of sallies and retires; of trenches, tents,
> Of palisadoes, frontiers, parapets;
> Of basilisks, of cannon, culverin;
> Of prisoners' ransom, and of soldiers slain,
> And all the currents of a heady fight."

It would far exceed the limits of a traveller's journal to notice all the other monuments in this

Cathedral, and to copy their inscriptions. Some of them, however, are well worthy of notice; especially one of black marble, representing, upon a *triclinium*, the sculptured cumbent effigies of a warrior and his wife[1]. The most antient monument in the Cathedral is the Sepulchral Chapel, erected, as the inscription tells, by OLAUS, a Bishop of *Åbo*, in 1425; who lies buried here with the members of his family. This is the inscription:—

Chapel of *Olaus*, Bishop of *Åbo*.

Anno D: ni mcdxxv Magnus Olai e: pus fecit fieri
h. opus HELP MARIA.

The account of his death is also preserved in the following inscription, upon a brass plate:

ANNO DOMINI M.CCCC.LII. DIE IX. MENSIS MARTII OBIIT REVERENDUS IN CHRISTO PATER ET DOMINUS, D: NUS MAGNUS D. G. EPISCOPUS ÅBOENSIS, HUJUS CAPELLÆ FUNDATOR, QUI SEDIT ANNOS QUADRAGINTA.

Then, upon the same plate, follows:

ANNO DOMINI M.C.D.LX. DIE XXIV. MENSIS FEBR. OBIIT REVERENDUS IN CHRISTO PATER AC DOMINUS OLAVUS, D. G. EPISCOPUS ÅBOENSIS.
ORATE PRO ISTIS ET CETERIS CHRISTI FIDELIBUS, UT REQUIEM HABEANT CUM BEATIS.

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(1) *Thorsten Stählhandsk*, and *Christina Horn*.

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All these had the addition TAVAST to their names, as a surname; the first being called *Magnus Olaus Tavast;* and the second, *Olaus Henricus Tavast,* who is mentioned in the Chronicle of *Juustenius* as having instituted an altar and mass in the Cathedral of *Åbo,* in honour of the *Eleven Thousand Virgins.* We were also shewn an inscription commemorating a warrior of the same family, by the name simply of *Olaus Tavast,* who was also buried here:[1]

ANNO DOMINI M.CCCC.LXI. CRASTINO F: I PETRI DE CATHEDRA NOBIL. VIR OLAVUS TAVAST, MILES HOC OBIIT: ORATE PRO EO.

Monument of a *Scotch* Officer.

And formerly were seen here the marble effigy and cenotaph of *Samuel Cockburne,* a *Scotch* officer in the *Swedish* service, who fought under *Charles the Ninth* and *Gustavus Adolphus;* the latter of whom honoured the funeral of this brave officer with his royal presence, being at that time in *Finland.* The place of this effigy was pointed out to us, as being now concealed by another tomb. The inscription however remains.

(1) This Inscription is no longer in the Cathedral. A copy of it was given to me by Professor *Porthan.*

D. SAMUELI COCKBURNO SCOTO, DUCI FORTISSIMO, DUORUM EXERCITUUM CHILIARCHÆ PRÆSTANTISSIMO, TOTIUSQUE SVECICI EXERCITUS SUMMO MAJORI, QUI POSTQUAM MUSARUM CASTRA CUM LAUDE SECUTUS ESSET, IN BELLO SUB AUGUSTISSIMIS CAROLO ET GUSTAVO ADOLPHO SVEC. GOTH. VANDAL. REGIBUS FŒLICITER VIXIT ANNOS XXIII, ET PIE IN PACE MORTUUS EST ANN. ÆTATIS SUÆ XLVII. CHRISTI MDCXXI. JOAN. FRATER MŒRENS POSUIT. " COCKBURNE VIXTI FORTIS, AST OBIS FERUS, MARTEM ET MINERVAM TECUM QUI CONDIS UNO IN SEPULCHRO, QUO NON SCOTI TRISTIUS, SVECI AUT VIDEBUNT, NEC POLONI LÆTIUS."

We have now noticed whatever appeared to us to be the most remarkable objects of curiosity in this building. There are, it is true, various other sepulchres of bishops and warriors, the former saints and heroes of the country; men famous in their generations: but their names hardly now remain to swell the catalogue of the verger or sexton who conducts strangers visiting the structure. One thing more remains to be described. At the western extremity of the Cathedral, and within its walls, is the *Library of the University;* to which our attention will now be entirely directed. An account of it, written by Professor *Porthan,* was printed at *Åbo,* in the form and manner we have before mentioned, as

University Library.

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adopted by him for the publication of his works[1]. The collection is contained in three rooms, and the books are in excellent order.

The establishment of this *Library* dates nearly with the foundation of the *University*[2], in 1640, under the minority of *Christina*, daughter of *Gustavus Adolphus*, who succeeded to the throne of *Sweden* at the age of six years, upon the death of her father at the battle of *Lutzen*[3]. The whole

(1) "*Historia Bibliothecæ R. Academiæ Aboënsis, disputationibus publicis* XXIII. A. 1771—1787. *proposita, ab Henrico Gabriel Porthan, Eloqu. Prof. R. et O. Aboæ, Typis Frenckellianis.*" This work the author has also deposited in the *University Library* at *Cambridge*.

(2) Many writers, and, among others, the authors of the *Voyage de Deux Français*, have mentioned that the *Library* and *University* were founded at the same time: but this is not strictly true. "Conditâ hic An. Dn. 1640. felicibus auspiciis, favore Reginæ, Litterarum amantissimæ, &c. celebri Christinæâ Academiâ (*confer. ut cæteros multos taceam*, Wexionii *Natales Academiæ Aboënsis*, et Bilmark, *Hist. Acad. Aboënsis* l. c. § 3.) mox desiderabatur, Musis recens huc translatis, voluptatem, usum, suppetiasque præbitura Bibliotheca bene instructa;" &c. observes Professor *Porthan*; but he afterwards adds, "Tradunt viri de Historia Patriæ summis meritis clarissimi, Reginam idcirco statim post conditam Academiam, Bibliothecam quoque hic fundasse regalique mactasse munificentia: sed hæc verba stricte nimis non sunt interpretanda; nihil enim primis sex annis nova Academia accepit, liberalitate Regia, librorum," &c. *Vide Hist. Biblioth. Acad. &c. p.* 10.

(3) Upon the 26th of *November*, 1632, *Puffendorf* suspected that this great and good king was assassinated by *François Albert*, Duke of *Saxe-Lauwenbourg*; an opinion warmly contested by his *French* Editor (*see tom.* II. *p.* 259, *Note* (1). *Amst.* 1743). The words of *Puffendorf* are: "*On parle fort diversement de la manière dont il fut tué. Cependant, par les circonstances on peut juger avec beaucoup de vraisemblance, que dans la confusion le même* Duc de Saxe-Lauwenbourg *lui donna le coup par derrière.*"

collection of books amounts to 10,000 volumes, and the annual revenue of the Library does not exceed 120 rix-dollars. There are few things in this Library of any general importance: but when we consider the situation in which they are placed, we cannot pass by the notice of those *Codices* which the *Åbo* Professors regard as its most valuable ornaments; especially as the increasing power and obvious views of such dangerous neighbours as the *Russians* render it very doubtful whether any traces of them may long remain. A Catalogue *raisonné* of the *Manuscripts* will be found in Professor *Porthan*'s History of this Library[4]. We shall, of course, notice only the most remarkable.

Manuscripts.

1. The first is a Greek MS., in folio, of *Aetius*, a *Greek* physician[5]. It is fairly written upon paper; and contains the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th books of this author; of whose writings only the *eighth*, and some chapters of the *ninth* book, have hitherto been published in the original *Greek*.

2. A MS. of *Seneca*, elegantly written upon vellum, in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

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(4) See *Hist. Biblioth. Acad. Aboënsis*, as before cited.

(5) ΑΕΤΙΟΥ Ἀντιοχέως ἰατροῦ περὶ διαγνώσεως καὶ θεραπείας τῶν νοσημάτων, λόγοι ἓξ, εἴσοτε νῦν μή ποτε ἐκτετυπώμενοι.

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3. A folio MS. of *Cicero de Oratore*, elegantly but inaccurately written upon paper, at *Bologna*, in the year 1451.

4. A folio MS. of *Cicero's Orations*, negligently written upon vellum.

5. A folio MS. upon vellum, elegantly written, of *Petrarch* and *Boccace*'s Lives of Illustrious Men and Women.

6. A fine folio MS., upon vellum, of *Justinian*, with copious marginal annotations, beautifully written, and in high preservation.

7. *Peter Olaus*, his Chronicle of the Kings of *Sweden*, a folio MS., fairly written, upon paper, in the *Swedish* language.

There are, in all, eighty-six volumes of Manuscripts: but the list includes *Missals*, *Bibles*, *Koråns*, and a few other Oriental Manuscripts, together with many curious *Codices* which relate to *Swedish* and *Russian* history. There is also a Map of *Japan*, given to the Library by Count *Alric Scheffer*, which *Porthan* calls "*rarum Bibliothecæ nostræ cimelium*[1]." The authors of the *Voyage de Deux Français*, by whom none of these *Codices* were noticed, mention only one manuscript, in their short account of this Library: and although we give them full credit for their

(1) *Hist. Biblioth.* p. 214.

statement, it so happened that we did not see the work to which they allude[2].

Typographical Rarities.

Among the Typographical rarities, we saw only the following as worthy of the smallest notice:

1. *Terentius.* Argent. 1496. folio, cum fig.

2. *Cicero,* Quæst. Tuscul. cum comment. Phil. Beroaldi. Venet. fol. 1499.

3. *Horatii Flacci Opera,* cum annotat. imaginibusque. Argent. fol. 1498.

4. *Persius.* Venet. fol. 1495.

5. *Juvenalis Satyræ.* Venet. fol. 1494.

6. *Seneca.* Venet. fol. 1492.

7. *M. Fabii Quintiliani Orat. Institut. Libri* XII. sine anno et loco editionis. Fol. Literæ initiales adpictæ sunt, et quædam auro ornatæ.

8. *Julii Firmici Astronomicorum Libri* XIII. &c. Venet. fol. in ædibus Aldi, 1499.

9. *Boethius.* Colon. fol. 1482.

10. *Plotinus.* Florent. fol. 1492,

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(2) "On nous y a montré un Manuscrit in folio, de 1341 pages; intitulé: *Proces-verbal d'une commission nommée in* 1676, *et sentences qui ont été prononcées sur des maléfices et des magiciennes, écrit en Suédois, de la main d'André Engman, notaire de la dite commission:* il manque quelques feuilles au commencement."— *Voyage de Deux Français dans le Nord de l'Europe. Tome* II. *p.* 510. *à Paris,* 1796.

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11. *Dialogus Creaturarum Moralizatus,* 4to.[1]

12. *Missale Obense.* Lubeck, 1588, with woodcuts. Of this work only two copies are extant. The other is at *Upsala,* and is not perfect.

Besides these, there are some curious *Latin Bibles,* printed in the fifteenth century; and many others with dates prior to the year 1500. Among them we observed a copy of *Æsop,* in large octavo, with the date 1490; but no mention made of the place where it was printed. We saw also some curious old books of Travels to the *Holy Land* and other Eastern Countries, from the *Venetian* Press, dated 1518, and 1519, and in the *Italian* language. This Library is

(1) The first work printed in *Sweden.* They shew another copy of it at *Upsala,* as we before noticed. Concerning this volume, Professor *Porthan,* in his History of the Library*, remarks: "Quoniam læsum est hoc exemplum (figuris rudissimis, coloribus etiam allinitis, ornare opus editor voluit), et ultima imprimis folia desunt, non possumus certo quidem hactenus definire, (quod alias editiones cum hac comparandi non fuit potestas,) utrum editio sit *Stockholmensis* a *Joh. Snell* impressa, an ea antiquior Coloniensis a. 1481, industria et impensis *Conradi de Hombroch* e prelo emissa: sed pro *Stockholmensi* tamen potius habendam putamus." At the end of the volume, however, we found this manuscript note: "In pagina ultima hæc leguntur verba. Præs. (Præsens) liber. Dialogus Creaturarum appellatus jocundis fabulis plenus; impressus per *Johannem Snell,* artis impressoriæ magistrum—in *Stockholm* inceptus, et munere Dei finitus est. Anno Domini 1.4.8.3. Mensis *Decembris.*"

* Hist. Biblioth. p. 226. Note (d).

well stocked with good editions of the *Greek* and *Latin Classics*, with the Writings of the *Fathers*, books of *Jurisprudence*, books of *Natural History* (including the famous *Danish* work on Shells, the *Flora Danica*, and most of our best Writers upon this subject), *Medicine*, the *Mathematics*, *Geography*, *History*, *Antiquities*, *Voyages*, and *Books of Travels*, &c. &c. A few other *English* Authors caught our attention, as almost tempting us to inquire by what accident they came there. Among them we saw *Bacon's History of Henry* VII.; *Camden's Queen Elizabeth; Rapin's History of England; Carrington's Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell; History of Charles the Second*, by a person of quality; *Wallace's Account of the Orkney Isles; Martin's Western Islands of Scotland;* &c. &c. A volume of Sacred Songs, prepared for the use of the Churches in *Lapland*, and printed in the *Swedish* language, in octavo, at *Stockholm*, in 1619, will shew, by its title, how very nearly allied the languages are of *England* and *Sweden*, in many instances. It was called, "*En liten Sångebok*"—a little Song Book. With these few observations, perhaps, the Reader will have as much information as he may wish to possess, respecting the Public Library of this University: but if he should be anxious for more, it may be afforded him, by reference to a quarto volume,

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written upon this subject alone, by the celebrated Professor who so kindly assisted us in our own researches[1].

Public Edifices.

The principal public edifices of the University are most curiously made a part of the *Cathedral;* being situate within its walls. Besides the *Library* now described, pursuing the same wall, we came to the *Anatomical Schools* (*Theatrum Anatomicum,*) and the *Public Auditory,* or Chamber, in which the *Disputations* are held. It was intended that, in the ensuing spring, a handsome building should be erected, for the purpose of containing the *Library,* and all other Collections belonging to the University. A plan for the form of this new structure was shewn to us: it was to consist of a front with two wings, disposed according to the three sides of a parallelogram, in this manner:

Theatrum Anatomicum. Auditory of Disputations.

Front for the Library.

in the side wings were to be Public Lecture-

(1) See Professor *Porthan*'s Work, as before cited.

rooms, and Repositories for Cabinets of Natural History, &c. CHAP. VII.

Being afterwards introduced to the celebrated Professor of Chemistry, *John Gadolin*, he had the kindness to shew to us the collection of *Minerals* belonging to the University. We have before mentioned the neglect visible in other national collections of *mineralogy* belonging to *Sweden;* and there is nothing in this to exempt it from the remarks we then made. The Professor who has the care of it, a man of great and renowned talents, has done all he could for its improvement; but it is, after all, a wretched heap of trash. The most remarkable specimens which we saw in this collection, were, a mass of the famous *Siberian Iron*, supposed to be meteoric, discovered by *Pallas* near the banks of the river *Jenisei;* and some fine examples of the curious mineral which bears Professor *Gadolin*'s own name, and in which he discovered the remarkable substance called *Yttria*. Some specimens of the *Gadolinite* were said by him to contain as much as forty per cent. of *Yttria*[2]. Perhaps there may have been, in this collection, other

Professor *Gadolin.*

Collection of Minerals.

(2) Professor *Gadolin*, at this time, estimated the proportion of *Yttria* as equal to two-fifths of the mass; but, according to *Ekeberg*'s analysis of *Gadolinite*, some varieties of it contain *55.5* of *Yttria*, besides 4.5 of *Glucina*.

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minerals worth notice; but the quantity of useless lumber with which we found it encumbered, and the want of a proper arrangement, prevented our further examination of its contents.

Professor *Hellenius.*

The collection of *Botany*, under the care and superintendence of Professor *Hellenius*, was very differently characterized. It is by far the most perfect thing of its kind in *Sweden*, not excepting that at *Upsala*, both with regard to the rarity and number of the plants, and the beautiful and lucid order in which they are kept and arranged. In looking over the Catalogue, we were surprised to find an addition made to every genus; containing, in some instances, twenty or thirty non-descript plants, hitherto undetermined, and therefore anonymous. The Professor himself conducted us to the *Botanic Garden*, which we found to be small, but in the highest state of cultivation. In the green-houses, we saw some plants from the *Cape of Good Hope*, which were in flower, and as healthy as if they had been growing in their proper soil. A visit to this garden is sufficient to shew the lovers of *botany* what may be accomplished by economy and talents. The annual fund for its support did not exceed thirty pounds of our money; but in its produce, and in all things necessary for the advancement of botanical studies, especially in

Botanic Garden.

the genius and abilities of its Professor, *Åbo*, little as it is known in the world at large, may vie with the most celebrated Universities. One circumstance, mentioned to us by the Professor, seemed very unaccountable; namely, the difficulty of rearing the *Lapland* plants. Very few plants brought from that country will flourish here; and yet the climate and soil seem nearly allied to those of the *Arctic* regions. It is further remarkable, that with the *Siberian* plants they have no difficulty whatsoever. In *England*, we experienced the difficulty of rearing plants from seeds collected in *Lapland*; but the great difference of climate and soil may explain the cause [1].

Hellenius's Private Collection.

After this visit to the *Botanic Garden*, Professor *Hellenius* shewed to us his Library, and private collection of *Natural History*. His ornithological cabinet afforded us a very gratifying sight, as it contained all the rarer birds of *Scan-*

(1) All the attempts made to rear the different species of *Lapland Pedicularis*, in the *Botanic Garden* at *Cambridge*, were without success. The seed of the *Pedicularis Sceptrum Carolinum*, which we collected in a mature state, and forwarded, for greater expedition, in letters to *England*, did not afterwards germinate. Yet we have seen this majestic plant, in the north of *Sweden*, bearing its exuberant blossoms, and flourishing, to the height of four feet and a half, in meadows far south of the *Arctic* Circle. In *Norway*, it never attains this altitude: it is there always in such a dwarfish state, as to make it appear like a different species.

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dinavia, in excellent preservation; and among these especially, the birds of *Lapland*, which are not common even in that country. The *Turdus Roseus* is of this number: it might be called the *red-breasted Blackbird*. The *Swedish* naturalists consider it as an *American* bird, which only occasionally visits *Lapland* and *Finmark*. The *Corvus Lapponicus*, resembling a small *Magpie*, is also a rare bird. There is an account of it by *Thunberg*, in the Transactions of the Academy of *Stockholm*. Another very remarkable bird is the *Scolopax Glottis*, or great dark-coloured *Woodcock*, with a very long beak, the lower half of which is red: also the *Fringilla Lapponica:* and, beyond every other in the beauty of its plumage and sweetness and infinite variety of its notes, the *Motacilla Suecica*, called *Hundred-tuner*, or *Saddan Kiellinen*, by the *Lapps*, which is seen perching on the *Betula nana*, and making its nest among the moss, where it deposits five or six eggs of a greenish hue. Its brilliant plumage bids defiance to the pencil of the artist. We preserved one of them; which, for this reason, we have not figured in this work, being dissatisfied with the drawings made of it. Its feathers are of a lively *Turquoise* blue colour, bordered about the throat with black, which passes into a reddish grey. It feeds upon caterpillars, and

other small insects and worms. There are above an hundred different species of birds found in the neighbourhood of *Åbo*, and in the *Åland* Isles. Many of these, of course, are sea-fowl. They have four different kinds of *Gulls*, together with the *Colymbus* and the *Pelican*, the *Eider-duck*, and twelve or fourteen other species of *Anas*. In our frequent conversations with *Hellenius*—and we saw him daily during the time of our short residence in *Åbo*—we knew not which to admire most; his polished and friendly manners, open, generous, and hospitable; or the extent and variety of his mental accomplishments, which made us consider him as one of the best-informed scholars of his country. Indeed, we saw enough in this University to be convinced that *Upsala*, although more celebrated, could not justly be compared with it. But the opinion which foreigners entertain of the merits of the *Swedish* Universities is generally formed from conversing with the *Swedes* in *Stockholm*, where *Åbo* is almost as little known as it is in *London*. Consequently, if in the literary circles of *Stockholm* any mention is made of *Åbo*, the *Swedes* fancy that you are unmindful of the superior advantages of *Upsala*, whose pride and high-mindedness carries all before it; yet this boasted superiority exists only in pre-

Comparative estimate of the two Universities, *Upsala* and *Åbo*.

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judice and imagination: in point of real science, *Åbo* is as much superior to *Upsala*, as the latter is before the University of *Lund*. But if this declaration were made among the *Swedes* of the metropolis, it would give rise to considerable opposition and warmth of debate; because in *Stockholm*, the same notions are entertained with regard to the *Finland* University, that *Englishmen* entertain respecting the Universities of *Dublin* and *Edinburgh*, when compared with *Cambridge* and *Oxford:* they will not suffer them to be weighed together in the same scale. Travellers, however, viewing with impartial eyes their comparative merits, soon learn to disregard local prejudices. Judging of the tree by its fruits, they will render to merit the just tribute which is due to merit: and in so doing, it must be confessed that, at this time, *Åbo* had the superiority. At *Upsala*, science was made a matter of conversation; at *Åbo*, it was a subject of real and industrious research: but *Upsala* possessed the means of giving notoriety and celebrity to any the most trivial contribution which it made to the interests of science; whereas the facilities of common communication with the literary world were wholly denied to *Åbo*. The former, it is true, boasted the names of *Thunberg*[1], and

(1) Author of Travels in *Japan*, &c. &c.; successor of *Linnæus*.

of the two brothers *Afzelius*[2]; to which has since been added that of an illustrious chemist, in *Berzelius:* but *Åbo* was at this time honoured by its historian *Porthan*, by its poet *Frantzën*, by its chemist *Gadolin*, and by its botanist *Hellenius;* men who in any University would have made a distinguished figure, and would have been regarded among its brightest ornaments. The different state of public morals, too, was strikingly conspicuous in the two Universities of *Upsala* and *Åbo*. In *Upsala*, drunkenness and riot pervaded her streets; and licentiousness and Jacobinism had found their way into her cellars, which were nightly the resort, and indeed the only public place of meeting, for her students. In *Åbo*, although a town of greater magnitude, containing a more numerous population, peace and decent order everywhere prevailed. We saw no symptoms of that looseness of discipline and contempt of decorum which are so common in *Upsala*. Among its inhabitants, a milder disposition seemed to prevail; chiefly, perhaps, owing to the absence of those *French* principles, which had been disseminated with fatal success, to poison and debase the

(2) *John Afzelius*, Professor of *Chemistry;* and his brother, *Adam Afzelius*, celebrated for his foreign travels, and talents in *Natural History*, especially in *Botany*.

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minds both of Students and Professors in *Upsala*, as among persons of all ages in *Stockholm*. In *Åbo*, the older *Swedish* manners and customs were prevalent, not having been yet liable to such mischievous innovations: a love of truth, and a sincere ardour in the pursuit of science, seemed to be the natural growth of the place, where the force of good example was added to precept. *Upsala*, among the youth of the country, might be deemed, as doubtless it was, the most fashionable seminary of education; but a parent, who had the opportunities of information and choice respecting both, would not long hesitate in which to place his son. Not, however, that there is any thing of austerity in the manners of the inhabitants. The principal of them are merchants, living in a very elegant style. One of them, to whom we were introduced, a Mr. *Bremer*, had travelled over *Europe*, and visited our own country. This gentleman possessed an excellent library; and had, moreover, a small but good collection of pictures and engravings. While, in the depth of their severe winter, the novel sight was presented to *English* travellers, of sledges attended by whole tribes of the wildest *Finlanders* from the interior of the country, now flocking into *Åbo*, and passing and repassing amidst houses and public buildings

half buried in snow, we had invitations to balls and routs, in which a very striking contrast was exhibited to such features of savage life. Judging from the appearance exhibited in the public streets, we might have imagined ourselves in some town of *North America;* but in the evening, visiting their musical societies, of which they have two regularly established in this city, or joining in their dancing parties, we were rather reminded of what we had seen in the capital.

Finlander of Savolax in the Streets of Åbo, with his Sledge.

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Concourse of the Natives from the neighbouring Districts—Manners of the Finns—*their motives in visiting* Åbo—*their dress—marvellous expedition which they undertake—anecdote of one of them—Streets of* Åbo—*Booksellers—Price of articles—Language and People of* Finland—Finnish *Poetry—Merchants of* Åbo—*Maritime Commerce of* Sweden *and* Norway—*Singular customs—Courts of Judicature—Distant excursions of the Trading* Finlanders—*Foundation of the University—Number of its Students and Professors—Importance of a travelling-carriage—State of the accommodations for Travellers—Cursory reflections previously to the departure for* Russia.

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Concourse of Natives from the neighbouring districts.

We arrived in that season of the year which, of all other, is best suited to gratify a stranger's curiosity; when the rigorous frost of the winter enables the natives of all the neighbouring districts to resort to *Åbo* for merchandize. It wanted only a fortnight to the annual fair; but the inhabitants of all the *Finland*, and even the more distant *Lapland* provinces, began to pour in, with increasing numbers, every day. At length, the coming of these visitants constituted every morning a new throng, moving in regular procession through the streets. By this means, without the pains and privations that would attend a journey into the interior, we were enabled, leisurely, to see and converse with people from very remote regions; to watch their mode of life, wants, luxuries, and trade; and to observe their dresses and manners. Among these, the *Russian* traders were remarkably distinguished, by their long bushy beards, naked necks, and dark lamb-skin caps of a peculiar kind of curled wool. They were constantly in the streets, dragging after them hand-sledges:—while the *Finns*, with their shorn features, long dark unbending hair, and sallow countenances; eyes, extended length-ways, and half closed; a peaked nose, frequently inclining upwards, but always pointed; sharp and square chin; elevated cheek-

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bones, and pinched mouth; plainly shewed the life they led: add to this, large, high, and prominent ears; a small head; thin scanty eyebrows, turned upwards at their extremities, like those of the Chinese; high shoulders; short and small fingers; knees bent, and projecting forwards; and you have the genuine portrait of a *Finn*, evidently allied to the *Laplanders*. But if it were asked, whom else they resemble, it would be difficult to say. If in *Great Britain* there be a race at all resembling them, it is, perhaps, the wild Scotch, who speak the *Gaelic* language, and who have the same dark locks and swarthy complexion: but the red-haired and raw-boned tribes of the Lowlands in *Scotland* are indisputably a *Teutonic* tribe, and perhaps originally *Danes*. It will be recollected, that, in former instances, we had been indebted to the annual fair for the insight we were enabled to obtain with regard to tribes inhabiting countries almost inaccessible to literary travellers. In this manner we became acquainted with the most distant colonies of *Lapps*, whose families visited the fairs of *Kiemi* and *Trönÿem*. To the same cause we were now indebted for a familiar acquaintance with the natives of *Tavastehûs* and *Savolax;* perhaps the only remaining branch of that antient race of *Finns* who succeeded to the

Lapps in this part of *Scandinavia*, and drove the latter from their settlements among the *Åland Isles*, and upon the southern shores of the Gulph of *Bothniâ*, into the more northern territories they now inhabit. The *Finns* of *Savolax* certainly resemble the *Laplanders*, as much as the children of any family ever resembled each other. They are not so diminutive in stature ; which perhaps arises from the difference of their diet and mode of life. When first we saw what were called *Finlanders* in *Ostro-Bothniâ*, we thought they differed materially from the *Lapps*, in having, besides their more athletic form, light yellow hair. But we had there seen a mixed race, produced by the intermarriages of *Swedish* and *Finland* families ; producing a comely and healthy race, who are constantly engaged in the wholesome occupations and labours of an agricultural life, and differ materially from the true swarthy and smoke-dried *Finn ;* whole families of whom continued at this time to pour into *Åbo*, in such numbers that the streets were filled with them, so that it was wonderful to us where they could all find a place for lodging. We observed their sledges, with the horses yet standing in the shafts, filling the court-yards of all the shopkeepers and merchants during the entire day ; and where they went afterwards we could not learn.

Manners of the *Finns*.

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Upon their first coming, the appearance of all of them was the same; all their sledges being similarly laden, and whole families walking by the side of them. These sledges contained provisions for themselves, and provender for their horses; an old net being constantly drawn tight over the burden, to keep the hay, which lay uppermost, from being carried off by the wind. So many nets worn out with fishing occupation bespoke the ways of life of their owners, who supply with frozen fishes all the towns upon the coast, even to the distant markets of *Petersburg;* and are themselves *Icthyophagites*, inhabiting a vast region of lakes and rivers swarming with this valuable article of food. Over the net, upon these sledges, is always placed the little family-chest, containing the hoarded treasure produced by a year's labour, tobacco-pipes and tobacco, together with the household divinities and portable shrines of their country; such as were of old among the *Israelites*—"THE TABERNACLES OF MOLOCH, AND THE STAR OF THEIR GOD REMPHAN." Their first business, after their arrival, is to swallow the drams with which they are freely supplied by the tradesmen in *Åbo*, who are to traffic with them, and with which they become immediately intoxicated: but no people upon earth are more harmless "in

their cups" than these simple *Finns;* their drunkenness being only manifested in the most ludicrous grimaces, and in more than usual kindness and attention to their female companions, who can hardly be called by the name of " the fair sex," lovely as they may appear to a drunken *Finn.* Sometimes, in these moments of intoxication, the grinning and grimaces suddenly give way to gravity ; and then parties of them are seen together, communicating, with an air of the utmost importance, the most trivial circumstances; as, what they intend to buy at the fair, and whom they shall buy it of; who gives away the most brandy, and promises to supply their wants at the lowest rate ; which, however, is a matter of importance to them. At these interviews the dealers now and then contrive to be present, either in their own persons, or by means of their agents ; because, while the drams they have administered do their work, the heart of a *Finlander* is open to all comers ; all their little secret plans and purposes are then divulged ; and, as the trade with them, and with the *Lapps* who resort to *Åbo* at this season of the year, constitutes a very principal part of the commerce of *Åbo,* the native simplicity and unsuspecting disposition of both render them an easy prey to the more artful dealers.

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We have said that the trade carried on with these tribes from the interior of the country constitutes a very principal part of the commerce of *Åbo;* and hence it follows that the chief part of the articles exposed for sale in the shops are things calculated for their use: in fact, the best trade which any dealer can exercise in *Åbo,* is that of supplying the natives of the interior districts with the different commodities they may require. Of all their wants, the principal are constantly the same; viz. *tobacco* and *brandy*— drugs universally requisite, where mental resources are at a low ebb, for steeping in forgetfulness the *tædium vitæ*. The desire of obtaining them is so great among the *Finns* and *Lapps,* as to supersede almost every other necessary article of life. From what we saw of the *Finns,* it was evident that both men and women would sooner eat their provisions raw, and even starve themselves, than be deprived of *brandy* and *tobacco:* therefore, if the price of an *iron kettle,* for which a *Finn* has made a journey to *Åbo,* astonishing both as to its extent and difficulty, should encroach too much upon his little fund for supplying him with these articles, he will spend all he has in *brandy* and *tobacco,* and return home again without the utensil for which he came. The author made an experiment here,

which had often afforded him amusement among the *Highlanders* of *Scotland* (with whom the taste for these articles is much the same); namely, that of walking among the natives with about half-a-yard of what is called *pig-tail tobacco*, dangling from his pocket-hole: the consequence was the same in both countries—the natives, attracted by the sight, would follow him anywhere, and cheerfully do whatever he required of them; wishing for no better payment for their labour than a cutting from the roll of tobacco. In one of the principal streets of *Åbo*, we saw a porter passing through the market with a considerable burden of this rolled *tobacco* upon his shoulders; and he was literally hunted by the *Finns*, who pursued him as hungry curs run after a dog when he is carrying off a bone.

Dress of the *Finns*.

During this their annual visit to *Åbo*, the dress of all the *Finns* seemed to be universally the same; indeed, it is nearly the habit worn over all *Finland*, *Lapland*, and a considerable part of *Russia*. It consists of a jacket or coat made of white sheep-skin leather, which is dressed, and worn with the wool inwards, as a lining, towards the body: this is fastened always by a sash or girdle about the waist. Long trowsers or pantaloons reach below the calf of the leg, and are bound about the instep. The feet are covered

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either with fur boots, or socks made of skins; over which are worn, what the *Russians* call *Labkas*, or sandals made of the bark of trees[1]. Upon their heads they wear a cap of fur; but which differs from that commonly worn by the *Russians*, in having flaps let down, so as to cover and keep warm the cheeks and ears, which are the parts otherwise frequently frost-bitten. With all these precautions against the inclemency of their winter-season, it is very remarkable that all the three nations, *Finns*, *Lapps*, and *Russians*, appear with their necks, and often with their bosoms, bare, in the most severe weather. Among all the tribes distinguished by their hardihood in this respect, are particularly to be mentioned the natives of *Carelia*; many of whom were now in *Åbo*, with their necks and bosoms open to the atmosphere, when the mercury in *Fahrenheit*'s thermometer was forty-six degrees below the freezing-point, or thirteen degrees and a half below *Zero*; a degree of temperature that actually happened while we were there, at noon, upon the sixth of *January*. The fair begins upon *January* the twentieth, and continues but three days; during which time it is almost impossible

(1) See the *Vignette* to Chap. X. of the First Volume of these Travels.

to penetrate through the square where the market is held, or any of the streets leading to it, owing to the many thousands of *Finns*, and other tribes, present upon the occasion; bringing frozen *fishes* and *corn* for sale; and bartering these commodities against salt, brandy, tobacco, domestic utensils, and sometimes silver vessels; with which, and with trinkets and other trifles, they severally return back to the countries whence they came. What would be thought of it, if at a fair in *England*, in one of our southern counties, (as for example, the fair of *Lewes* in *Sussex*,) the natives of the *Orkney Isles* were to be seen annually present, buying up the principal commodities exposed for sale? Yet distances of this kind, and much greater, are traversed by the natives of *Scandinavia*, who visit the towns of *Norway*, *Sweden*, and *Finland*, journeying for a little *tobacco*, or *brandy*, or for an *iron-pot*, or any trifling articles of hardware, from one end of this extensive region to the other. In proof of this, one anecdote will be sufficient, which afforded us as much surprise as it can possibly excite in the Reader's mind. Being one day in the market-place of *Åbo*, engaged in surveying the crowd of peasants from all parts that were there assembled, one of the *Finns*, whom we had noticed on account of the wildness of his aspect,

Marvellous expedition undertaken by the *Finns*.

Anecdote of one of them.

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his savage look, and uncouth appearance, suddenly sprang forward from the multitude, seizing us by turns by the hand, and evidently recognising us as old acquaintances and friends. After some time, we recollected having seen him somewhere before; and, upon inquiring whence he came, he seemed to be hurt; and addressing our interpreter in the *Swedish* language, said—"What, have the Gentlemen forgotten the poor *Finn* who ferried them to and fro, in their visits to *Kiemi* Fair?" And now we recollected the boatman employed upon that occasion; who had actually traversed, in his sledge, with a single horse, the whole extent of the Gulph of *Bothniâ*, from *Kiemi*, on its *northern*, to *Åbo*, on its *southern* extremity: and this amazing journey had been performed for the sole purpose of buying a little *salt* and *tobacco*, with which he was preparing to return!

Houses and Streets of *Åbo*.

Åbo chiefly consists of wooden houses, although there be many in the city both of stone and brick. The streets are of great length, some of them extending nearly an *English* mile. Being perfectly straight, they have a handsome appearance. A street leading from the former site of the old Monastery of *Åbo*, towards *Tavastehûs*, is as long as the *Strada Toledo* in *Naples*, or the *Corso* at *Rome*. There are three or four book-

sellers' shops, but they are worse than those of *Stockholm*. The owners of these shops are only to be found in attendance during one hour in the day—from eleven till twelve: and if a stranger, calling at that hour, is desirous of examining the books, he is not allowed to touch one of them. A catalogue, written in the *Swedish* language, is put into his hand, which is all he is permitted to see: and when he has been at the pains of examining the list, he finds it to consist entirely of *Swedish* publications; few of which are worthy of notice. There are, however, some which one is glad to meet with; as, for example, the *Dictionarium Anglo-Svethico Latinum* of Bishop *Serenius*, with the curious preface of *Eric Benzelius*, printed at *Hamburg*, in 1734; also *Widegren's Lexicon, Svenshtoch Engelsht*, printed at *Stockholm*, in 1788; which are almost essential to a traveller's journey through the country. For the rest, it is hardly possible to conceive a greater quantity of trash than it is usual to meet with in such places. The works of the *Swedish* historians are few in number; but even these it would be in vain to look for here. They are more likely to be met with in *London* or *Paris*, than in any of the *Scandinavian* cities, or even in *Copenhagen*. A person who is desirous of residing for any length of time in this University will of course

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avoid the inns, the very best of which is bad. The lodgings let to strangers visiting *Åbo* are remarkably neat and clean: for a sum not exceeding four shillings *English* per week, a good set of apartments may be hired; and no additional charge will be made for fire and candles. The only dear article is wine, which is supplied by the merchants of the city, who trade with *Portugal* and *France;* and is of better quality than it is usual to meet with in *Stockholm.* One dozen of very good *Champagne* sold for about thirty shillings; and the same quantity of good *Port,* for twenty-four shillings. Other *Portuguese* and *French* wines might be had in abundance; especially the different sorts of *Claret;* one of which, *La Fite,* is always called *Long-cork* in *Sweden,* and is the favourite wine in all company. They have also *Hock* and other wines from the *Rhine* and the *Moselle.*

Price of Articles.

Our frequent intercourse with the respectable Professors of this University, especially with Professor *Porthan,* of whose historical talents we have already spoken, gave us reason to hope that we should be able to gain some insight into the antient history and origin of the *Finnish* tribes. —Professor *Porthan* was himself a native of *Finland,* and well read and experienced in all that related to his own countrymen. He often

visited us; and we passed whole evenings in conversing with him upon this subject. From all that we could collect, it was evident that the language of the *Finns* is a dialect of that which is spoken by the *Lapps*[1]; by many of the *Russian*

(1) This opinion is combated by the Authors of the UNIVERSAL HISTORY, (*see vol.* XXXV. *pp.* 10, 11. *Lond.* 1762.) and, as it should seem, upon the authority of *Voltaire*, who knew about as much of the *Laplanders* and *Finns*, as of the inhabitants of the Moon. "*Olaus*, (observe the writers before cited, speaking of the *Lapps*,) and others who have copied him, tell us, that these people were originally *Finns*, who retired into *Lapland*." "But why, (as *M. de Voltaire* observes, *Hist. de Russie, tom.* I. *p.* 16.) when they were moving, did they not choose *a less northern land*, where life would have been more comfortable to them?" To which question of *Voltaire* there is this plain answer—That all the comforts of a *Laplander*'s life depend upon the comforts of his *rein-deer*; for which animal nothing can be better suited than the productions and climate of *Lapland*. If they had chosen "*a less northern land*," they would not have been provided, as they are, with the *Lichen rangiferinus* for their *rein-deer*, without which article of food, as it is well known, the animal degenerates and dies. The same authors maintain, that there is no similitude between the languages of the *Finns* and the *Lapps*: of the fallacy of which remark the Reader may judge, from the following comparative Vocabulary. At the same time it should be stated, that there is some difference between the two languages: the appellations of the different parts of the human body are the same in both; but the names of the Heathen Gods of the *Finns* and *Lapps* are not the same:

ENGLISH.	LAPP.	FINN.
Nose.	*Njuone.*	*Nena.*
Shoulder.	*Ålke.*	*Olka.*
Spine.	*Nidtje.*	*Nisa.*
Hand.	*Kut.*	*Kasi.*
Finger.	*Suorm.*	*Sormi.*
Thumb.	*Pelge.*	*Peukalo.*
Knee.	*Puolw.*	*Polvi.*
Foot.	*Juolke.*	*Jalka.*
Blood.	*Warr.*	*Weri.*

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nations; and, what is much more remarkable, it has also been identified with the language of the

ENGLISH.	LAPP.	FINN.
Sinew.	*Suona.*	*Suoni.*
To hear.	*Kullet.*	*Kuulla.*
To mourn.	*Surgot.*	*Sureta.*
To lament.	*Valot.*	*Valittaa.*
To fear.	*Pallet.*	*Peljata.*
To answer.	*Vaslatet.*	*Vaslata.*
To travel.	*Mannet.*	*Menna.*
To drink.	*Jukket.*	*Juoda.*
Hunger.	*Nelget.*	*Nelka.*
To swallow.	*Njalot.*	*Nuolla.*
To freeze.	*Kalmet.*	*Kylmettya.*
To fly away.	*Pateret.*	*Paeta.*
Brother.	*Valja.*	*Veli.*
Young.	*Nuor.*	*Nuori.*
Old.	*Wuoras.*	*Wanka.*
Sun.	*Peive.*	*Paiva.*
Evening.	*Ekked.*	*Ehto.*
Cloud.	*Palw.*	*Pilvi.*
Ice.	*Jagna.*	*Jaa.*
Fire.	*Toll.*	*Tuli.*
Bay.	*Lukt.*	*Laaxi.*
Smoke.	*Suowa.*	*Sauwu.*
River.	*Jock.*	*Joki.*
Isle.	*Suolo.*	*Salo-sari.*
Mountain.	*Ware.*	*Wuori.*
Stone.	*Kedke.*	*Kivi.*
Bog.	*Suis.*	*Suo.*
Leaves.	*Muorje.*	*Marja.*
Alder.	*Leipe.*	*Leppa.*
Pine-tree.	*Kuosa.*	*Kuusi.*
Marten.	*Nete.*	*Neta.*
Louse.	*Matok.*	*Mato.*
Serpent.	*Kerbma.*	*Karme.*
Birch.	*Lådde.*	*Lindu.*
White.	*Velkas.*	*Walkia.*

All these, and many more, are enumerated in the Appendix to a printed Thesis, "*De Bicarlis*," written by *Porthan*, for an Act kept in the Schools at *Åbo* by *Frantzën*, upon the 20th of *Dec.* 1786, upon which occasion *Porthan* himself presided.

Hungarians[1]. According to Professor *Porthan*, the *Finns* are the second colony of *Tâtars* who settled in *Scandinavia;* the old and original colony, or first-comers, being the *Lapps*. The *Finns* also peopled the north of *Livonia*, the south of which country was inhabited by a very different race of men. They once occupied all the western

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(1) The Reader will find this fact satisfactorily established by consulting the work of I. Sajnovics, "*Demonstratio Idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse*," 4to. *Hafniæ*, 1770. Also another very curious treatise, printed at *Gottingen*, in 1799, entitled "*Affinitas Linguæ Hungaricæ cum Linguis Fennicæ originis, auctore* S. Gyarmathi." But the principal confirmation of this curious circumstance was made by the discovery of Sajnovics; who, going to *Wardhuus*, to witness a transit of Venus on the Sun's disk, first observed, and afterwards made known, the striking affinity between the languages of *Lapland* and *Hungary*. In Strallenberg's "*Descriptio Imperii Russici*," printed at *Stockholm* in 1730, p. 32. there is the following quotation from Sajnovics:—"*Sciendum est, in Europa et Asia, qua septentrionem et orientem respiciunt, sex classes populorum inveniri, quos passim sub uno* Tartarorum *nomine complectimur. Sunt hi*

1. Morduini.	3. Permèckii.	5. Wogulitzii.
2. Scheremissæ.	4. Wotyackii.	6. Ostiaki.

Omnes hi olim cum Finnis, Lapponibus, Esthiis, *et* Ungaris *unum eundemque populum constituerunt. Atque ad sic dictos* Hunnos, *vel* Unnos, *qui non erant* Tartari *pertinebant.*"—Nothing has ever puzzled philologists more than the extraordinary discrepancy of the *Hungarian* language, when compared with all others in its neighbourhood. Molnarius, a *Hungarian*, in the preface to his *Hungarian* Grammar, says, "*Si quis ex me quærat, ad quam originalem linguam Ungarica referenda sit, vel cum quibus habeat cognationem, me nescire fatebor. Video enim eos, qui hoc tempore thesauros Polyglottos edunt, et linguas quasque in suas origines et classes referunt, Ungaricam semper in medio relinquere. Cum Europæis nullam connexionem habere hanc nostram certum est. An vero in Scythicis Asiæ finibus, supersint Gentes aliquæ nostra lingua Hunnica utentes, juxta cum ignarissimis scio.*"

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and southern parts of *Russia*, as far as the *Caspian Sea:* being compelled to emigrate, in consequence of the incursions of the *Monguls*, they settled in FINLAND. What branch of them it was, and at what time the event took place that occasioned their settlement in *Hungary*, cannot now probably be determined. There is no other evidence of the fact, than the similarity of the two languages: but surely such evidence is conclusive; for, as it is observed by the celebrated *Ihre*, in his *Suio-Gothic Glossary*, when speaking of the analogy between the two languages[1], and the importance of such proofs, "NON ENIM UT FUNGI, TEMERE ET INOPINATO NASCUNTUR VOCABULA."—The *Finns* possess poetry and music; but they have no national dance, nor indeed any more ability or inclination for dancing than the *bears* which inhabit their forests. In this respect they may be said to resemble the *Arabs*, but differ from

(1) This work was printed at *Upsala* in 1769. After speaking of the *Lapland* and *Finnish* race, and attributing to them a common origin with the *Hungarians*, in his preface the author says—"*Non enim arbitror alia ratione facile explicari posse, unde exstiterit insignis illa, quæ inter linguam Ungaricam et Fennicam observatur affinitas, quæque tanta est, ut certâ fide relatum mihi sit, in nupero bello, quod in Germania gessimus, milites quosdam, Fennicæ nationis, in Ungariam translatos, intra perexiguum tempus cum regionis ejus incolis colloquia miscere potuisse.*"

the whole race of *Goths*. In this poetry, the *Finns* are what the *Italians* call *Improvisatoris;* composing extempore rhapsodies. Their poetical productions are without rhyme, and consist almost entirely of *trochees*. All they seem to aim at, in these compositions, is alliteration; of which they are so passionately fond, that the whole effect of a song or a poem is often owing to words which in the same line either begin entirely with the same letter, or in which a repetition of the same letter frequently recurs. Professor *Frantzën* gave us a specimen of *Finnish* poetry, which will illustrate what is now said. He called it "*a Native Song of a Finnish Maiden;*" and we shall neither alter the title, nor make any change in the manner in which it is written; although the form of the metre seems to be altogether irregular. For, understanding the mode of accentuation, it is only necessary that the Reader should observe the following order of the metre:

— ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪
— ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪

The first word consists of a regular *trochee;* the second, of one long syllable, followed by two short syllables, or a *dactyl;* the third, the same; with which the line terminates. Every line, therefore, is made to consist of one *trochee* and

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two *dactyls*. We shall now insert the whole of it, accompanied by a literal translation.

Native Song of a Finnish Maiden.	*Literal Translation.*
Jos mun tuttuni tulisi,	If my well-known should come,
Enne nähtyini nnakysi,	My often-beholded should appear,
Sillen suuta ssuikajaisin,	I would snatch a kiss from his mouth,
Jos olis sun suden veressa :	If it were tainted with wolf's blood;
Sillen katta kaapajaisin,	I would seize and press his hand,
Jos olis karme kammen paassa.	If a serpent were at the end of it.
Olisko tuuli mielelissä,	If the wind had a mind,
Ahavainen kilelissä,	If the breeze had a tongue,
Sanan toisi, sanan veisi,	To bear and bring back the vows
Kanden rakkahan vällilä.	Which two lovers exchange!
Ennensä heitan kerkurnat,	All dainties would I disregard,
Paistit pappilan unohdan,	Even the vicar's savoury meat;
Ennerko heitan hertaiseni	Rather than forsake the friend of my heart,
Kesan kestyteldyäni,	The wild game of my summer's hunting,
Talven taivutelduani.	The darling of my winter's taming.

This language is full of vowels, and perhaps better adapted to Poetry than any other language known. Their words never begin with two consonants: if a word begins with a vowel, it almost always ends with one; at least, generally this happens; although there be, of course, exceptions. *Acerbi*, who was himself a skilful

musician, has published, in the Appendix to the second volume of his Travels, the curious variations given by the *Finlanders* to the five notes of which alone all their music consists. He has preserved their famous RUNA, beginning

"*Nuko, Nuko, pico linto,*
Veni, Veni, Vestereki,"

as it is played upon the *Harpu*. He also mentions their dances; but this is an error, as they have no dance of their own. The dance to which he alludes, and which he witnessed on the banks of *Leivaniemi*, is not a *Finnish* dance, but one borrowed from their neighbours.

Merchants of Åbo.

The merchants of *Åbo* have no regular place of Exchange; but they meet in the *Square*, and there transact their business. Indeed, the number of the wholesale dealers is very restricted. Mr. *Bremer*, a friend of ours, was one of this number: he had travelled over *Europe*, and possessed a good collection of paintings. We bought one of him, by *Le Brun;* a very good picture, representing the *Crucifixion;* which he had procured in *France* during the troubles of the Revolution, and had destined for the altar of a small chapel erected by himself near some glass-works in the neighbourhood. The trade between *Åbo* and *England*, at this time, was very much restricted; and there was a report of its being

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entirely prohibited. *Spain* was the only country from which salt was allowed to be imported, consistently with a regulation which prevailed all over *Sweden*. A cursory survey of the foreign commerce of all the maritime towns of *Sweden* and *Norway* might be afforded in very few words. All the country, from *Louisa*, on the Gulph of *Finland*, to *Åbo*, was occupied in commerce with *Spain*. Following the coast, along the eastern side of the Gulph of *Bothniå*, the inhabitants were engaged in trade with *England*. All the western side of the same gulph was employed in traffic with *Stockholm*, from whence the commerce is general over the world. *Torneå*, in the north of the gulph, trades with *Stockholm* and *Copenhagen*, and sometimes exports to *England* its commodities, of *tar*, *deals*, *fish*, and *peltry*. All the south of *Sweden* proper is engaged in trade with *England* and *Holland*. The ships of *Gothenburg* sail even to *China*. With regard to the *Norwegian* coast of *Scandinavia*, beginning from *North Cape*, westward, the inhabitants supply the ports of *Denmark*, *Holland*, and *England*, with *fish* and *peltry*; and also send the same commodities into *Sweden*, by the way of *Torneå*. Ships from *Trönÿem* sail to *Ireland*, *Scotland*, and *Holland*. The trade of *Bergen* is confined chiefly to *Holland*; and that

Maritime Commerce of *Sweden* and *Norway*.

of *Christiania*, as we have before mentioned, to *England:* but the trade of the south of *Norway*, by the late abandonment of its interests on the part of *England*, and its cession to *Sweden*, has been entirely ruined[1].

Singular customs.

In *Åbo* there are some customs rather of a singular nature. They ring their church-bells at a funeral, as we do in *England* at a wedding. When a robbery has been committed, a person, beating a drum, goes through all the streets, to make it known to the inhabitants. They have here a *Town Hall* and a *Parliament House:* petty offences being judged of at the former, and capital crimes at the latter. The President or Judge passes sentence; but if the offender be condemned to death, his execution cannot take place without an order from the King. Both the *Town Hall* and the *Parliament House* are built of stone; as are also the seat of the Courts of Justice, the Excise Office, the house of the Governor, and the houses of some of the merchants. *Åbo* is surrounded on all sides by rocky hills, which have a very naked appearance, and consist, for the most part, of *granite*.

Courts of Judicature.

(1) This remark of course applies to the political changes that have taken place since the period of these Travels. *Norway* remains as it was, and as it ever will be—the most beautiful and fertile country in the world, full of the grandest scenery in Nature; but its foreign commerce is annihilated, and its merchants are all ruined.

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Distant expeditions of the Trading *Finlanders.*

In the questions which we put to the numerous families of *Finns* who were now daily flocking into *Åbo,* respecting the particular articles of commerce for which they had made such marvellous journeys, we were answered, that they came to buy *salt* and *tobacco;* bringing at the same time, in exchange for these commodities, *corn, peltry, fish, butter,* and *cheese.* Some of them were from parishes at the extremities of the two Gulphs of *Bothniå* and *Finland;* and of these we have already mentioned one individual from *Kiemi.* What would be thought, in *England,* of a labouring peasant, or the occupier of a small farm, making a journey of nearly 700 miles[1] to a fair, for the articles of their home consumption? Except in this annual journey to *Åbo,* the true *Finns* have little intercourse with the inhabitants of the maritime district: they inhabit the eastern provinces of *Savolax* and *Tavasthuus;* where they live in the midst of forests, by the borders of the lakes; and lead a mode of life which exactly resembles that of the agricultural or settled *Laplander;* in houses

(1) The distance from *Torneå* to *Åbo,* by the *Swedish Vagvisare, Stockholm* 1776, p. 41, is 97 *Swedish* miles; which, at the rate of seven *English* miles to one *Swedish,* is 679 miles: but many of the *Finlanders* who resort to *Åbo* fair perform journeys of far greater distance.

which have a hole at the top to let out the smoke, and in one large room which is occupied by the whole family. The natives upon the coast are either *Swedes*, or a mixed race of *Swedes* and *Finns*; of which nature are the inhabitants of the country from *Åbo* to the north, as far as *Bjorneborg*.

Foundation of the University.

The Literary establishment of *Åbo*, as a University, is of very recent date, compared with the origin of similar institutions in our own country. *Gustavus Adolphus*, in the year 1626, first founded here a *Gymnasium*, or School, for the use of the town only. Fourteen years afterwards, Queen *Christina*, or, as the *Swedes* call her, *Stina*[2], converted the *Gymnasium* into a University, endowing it with the same privileges

(2) "In No. 135. the *Spectator*, upon the subject of the *English* language, observes, that proper names, familiarized in *English*, dwindle to monosyllables, but that in other languages they receive a softer tone by the addition of syllables. Thus *Nicholas*, in English *Nic*, becomes *Nicolini* in Italian; *John*, alias *Jack*, becomes *Janot* in French; &c. The *Swedes* in this case are our allies, for we both follow this dwindling system; but with this difference, that, as we cut at one end of our words, they dock at the other. Who would ever imagine, among the softening French or Italian linguists, that NICHOLAS was expressed by *Nils*, as in *Nils Marelius?* CHRISTINA, by *Stina?* And who would guess that *Greta* was the same as MARGUERITA; *Pehr*, as PETER; or *Jan*, as JOHAN? Yet I think that these alterations are improvements; and I am much delighted with my female acquaintance under the abbreviations of *Maia*, *Karin*, and *Phia*, for MARY, CATHERINE, and SOPHIA; and which appear to be preferable to the abbreviations which are used of *Bet*, *Kate*, or *Sophy*."—*Dr.* FIOTT LEE'S *MS. Journal.*

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as *Upsala;* and she appointed the bishop of the diocese Vice-Chancellor. The number of resident Students did not, at the time of our visit, exceed 300; but including all who had their names upon the foundation list, there might be about 500. The number of the Professors was as follows:—in the faculty of DIVINITY, *three,* with *one* Adjunct: in LAW, *one:* in the faculty of MEDICINE, *two* ordinary, and *one* extraordinary, as Professors; together with an Adjunct: in PHILOSOPHY, *nine* Professors, besides *two* Adjuncts ordinary, and *one* extraordinary. There was, moreover, a list of Teachers, as before stated, called *Magistri docentes;* two for DIVINITY, and eleven for PHILOSOPHY: and one *French* Master; one *Fencing* Master; and one Teacher of *Music,* who was organist of the Cathedral.

Number of Students.

We had sent back our *Swedish* Interpreter the whole way from *Åbo* to the village of *Vargatta,* near which place our travelling-carriage had been left upon a rock[1]. This man had a most dreary journey to perform, upon the ice, as it must appear from the account we have given of our own; but the *Swedes* are used to such expeditions, and think nothing of them.

(1) See p. 186 of this volume.

He undertook it, in an open sledge, with the greatest readiness; and returned as soon as the ice was strong enough to bear the weight of such a vehicle the whole way, and brought it safe to *Åbo*. The mode of travelling in the common sledges of the country is certainly the best, as far as the mere business of the day is concerned: it is, therefore, that mode of journeying which every one would adopt who seeks only to perform a given distance with the greatest expedition: but what is to become of a traveller in the night, in such a country and climate, where there are not only no inns, but where he will find it actually impossible to procure a place of rest; nor even a stable, in which he may find clean straw for his couch, or a place where he may lie down? It seems as if the natives of the dreary district between *Åbo* and *Petersburg* had exerted their utmost ingenuity, and with fatal success, to banish from their dwellings every thing that bore any relationship to comfort and cleanliness. They lie down themselves upon dirty boards, filthy with grease and smoke; in dark hovels, stinking of putrid fish: and these boards, which they use for their beds, are not put together horizontally, so that a traveller might cover them with skins, and thus contrive a resting-place; but they are set

Importance of a travelling-carriage.

State of the accommodations for Travellers.

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up in a sloping position, like the roof of a house, with a foot-board to arrest the feet, and prevent the person sleeping upon them from slipping off; to which a stranger, unused to the practice of being extended like a carcase upon a butcher's shamble, is constantly liable. Our travelling-carriage, therefore, was for us a moveable home; without which it would be folly, in this season of the year, to think of making any further progress. In the summer season the case would have been different; because the traveller, well armed against mosquitoes, may then lie down in the open air, quite indifferent as to the state of the dwellings in his route[1].

Cursory reflections previous to departure for *Russia*.

As soon as the carriage arrived, we took leave of our friends, and prepared for our journey into *Russia*. Knowing nothing of that country, or of its inhabitants, we set out full of hope that our gratification would be at least equal to

(1) Such, too, is the expedition with which voyages among the *Åland Isles* are then performed, that Professor *Malthus* and the Rev. *W. Otter*, who passed this way, from *Stockholm* to *Petersburg*, in *August*, came in a boat from *Skarpans* to *Åbo*, a distance equal to 117 miles, in a single day. In the course of this voyage, which they describe as resembling a passage across a beautiful lake sprinkled with islands, they were only once out of sight of land; namely, in sailing to *Ekerö*. Their carriage had been taken to pieces, and put into their boat. They left *Skarpans* at a quarter past six in the morning of *August* 7, and reached the Custom-house at *Åbo* a quarter before six in the evening. They had, therefore, performed their delightful voyage in eleven hours and a half, at the rate of ten miles an hour the whole way. They did not keep a direct course; but

that we had received in visiting *Sweden*, and little prepared for the grievous disappointment we afterwards experienced. Every thing tended to excite in us a curiosity to become acquainted with the *Russians*—the great figure they were beginning to make in the political world, and the memory of the illustrious names connected with the history of the country. There is something imposing in the mere name of such a mighty empire. Extending from the *Caspian* to the *Icy Sea*, and from the *Baltic* to the *Pacific Ocean*, it presents, under one Sovereign, a greater extent of territory than all the empires of antiquity. It is therefore with an aching heart, but with more of regret than indignation, that the writer of these pages purposes to make known to the *English* Reader, what his fate will be, if hereafter, pursuing the same route, he should venture to traverse the *Russian* domi-

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but sailed in and out among the islands, and passed a number of very narrow straits. They describe the appearance of the islands in summer as "sometimes exhibiting a prospect of bare rocks; sometimes, rocks covered with firs; and sometimes, but not often, cultivated lands, with farms upon them." The villages and little towns are "built of small wooden houses, many of them projecting into the water." Upon the rocks near one village they counted nineteen windmills, all going. The whole had a very picturesque effect, and the scenery was charming. The rocks were nowhere very high. The woods were generally of fir-trees, but sometimes mixed with *alders*, *birch*, &c. The entrance of the river *Äeura*, in sailing up to *Åbo*, possessed striking beauties, as the rocks were higher; and nothing could be more agreeable than the voyage they had made.

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nions, and especially *Russian* Finland, in his way to *Petersburg*. Every effort of a powerful people has hitherto been made to suppress the truth with regard to *Russia*. Large sums of money have been constantly paid, both in *England* and upon the continent of *Europe*, to buy up the public journals; and to engage writers who should answer all the views of the *Russian* Cabinet, by studiously concealing the truth with regard to that country, and by propagating false accounts of its inhabitants. It is not therefore to be subject of wonder that we fell so easily into the snare which was spread before us. As we did not expect to meet with refinement, we had no right to complain of the barbarism of the *Russians;* but the rude and simple manners of unenlightened nations, however barbarous they may be, are sometimes joined to benevolence, if not to honesty: yet the very word *honesty*, if it exist in the *Russian* language, is unintelligible to *Russians:* they know not the virtue to which it applies. If any trace of it lie concealed throughout the wide extent of the *Scythian* dominion, it is, perhaps, buried in the breasts of those victims of tyranny who have been condemned, for their love of truth, to a life of labour in the mines of *Siberia:* or it may exist in some dungeon of the empire, the access to whose

walls is carefully guarded by Despotism, that unnatural monster, who can only thrive where virtue is oppressed. At this time, *Sweden* had not lost her valuable possessions in *Ostero-Bothniâ;* but the designs of *Russia* were well known to all the best-informed men of the country. From their account, therefore, of the people we were about to visit, founded on the bitter experience of the *Finlanders* with regard to *Russia,* we had some prescient view of the gathering storm that was about to burst upon the land: but we entertained a hope, that the Cabinets of *Europe,* much better aware of what was going on, would never allow the predatory designs of the *Russians* to be carried on unmolested. A great national animosity had always subsisted between *Sweden* and *Russia;* and we hoped that to this might be attributed something of the dark picture given to us of the latter. *Sweden,* boasting of her former victories, saw with fear and distrust the rising prosperity of her mighty adversary, and the indifference with which more distant nations regarded the encroachments the *Russians* were everywhere making upon the territories of their neighbours. *Russia,* with an appetite for dominion, that grows by what it feeds upon, witnesses every year, as it passes, some new district annexed to her empire. She

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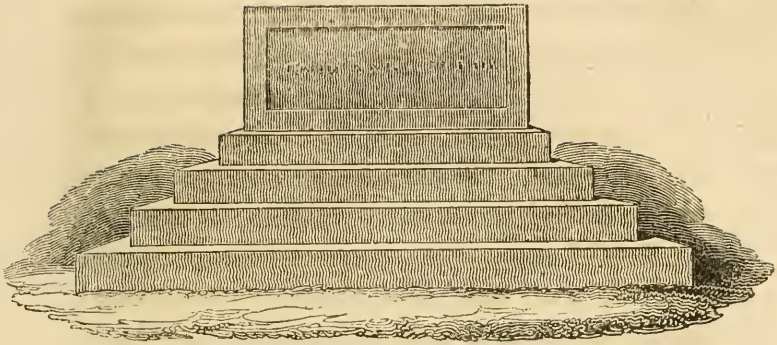
was now viewing with longing eyes the rich fields of *Finland*, which intercepted the progress of her boundaries towards the Gulf of *Bothniâ:* and *Sweden* and *Norway* will next become a prey to her devouring ambition and avarice; as will the whole of *Persia, India,* and *Turkey;*—when it will be too late for other Powers to interfere, and to curb the ferocious system of oppression; which in due season they might have restrained!



Tomb of Count *Ernsverd.*

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FROM ÅBO IN FINLAND, TO PETERSBURG IN RUSSIA.

Journey from Åbo *to* Helsingfors—*Description of* Helsingfors—*Fortress of* Sweaborg—*Tomb of Count* Ernsverd—*Strength, size, and importance of* Sweaborg—*Route from* Helsingfors *to* Borgo *and* Louisa—*Approach to the* Russian *frontier—Boundaries of the* Swedish *and* Russian *Dominions—Contrast between the Natives of the two countries—Mode of recruiting the* Russian *Army—Iniquitous conduct of a* Russian *Inspector of the Customs—Difficulties that impede the Traveller—Arrival at* Frederickshamm—*Appearance of that place—Regulation relating to Posting in* Russia—*Description of the Post-houses in* Russian Finland—*Intense cold of the*

the weather during the night—Arrival at Wibourg—*Appearance of the Soldiers of the Garrison—Mode of inflicting punishment on Deserters—Inhabitants of* Wibourg—*Arrival at* Petersburg.

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Journey from *Åbo* to *Helsingfors.*

THE journey from *Åbo* to *Helsingfors,* in the summer time, affords a series of prospects, which, in their character, cannot be equalled in the *Swedish* dominions; but in the winter season, it is performed under circumstances of so much dreary uniformity, that the traveller is glad to pass over it with all possible expedition. In this long route, therefore, little will now be said respecting any particular part of it: the only objects attracting notice, being the houses of relay; which are much the same everywhere, seldom rising to mediocrity as to the accommodations they offer, but situate in a country full of picturesque beauty. This part of *Finland* is much cultivated: the forests having been cleared, and enclosures made, of course the population is greater than in other places. The whole country appears decked with farm-houses and village churches, rising to the view, or falling from it, over an undulating district, amidst woods, and water, and rocks, and large loose masses of *granite:* it may be called *Norway* in miniature: and the extraordinary novelty to an English traveller, of seeing vessels gliding out,

as if from the woods, among which are so many bays, lakes, and little inland seas, in that season of the year when the ice has not locked up the waters, is as delightful as it is striking. Higher up the country, towards the north, there are scenes which were described to us as unrivalled in the world. Every charm which the effect of cultivation can give to the aspect of a region where Nature's wildest features—headlong cataracts, lakes, majestic rivers, and forests—are combined, may there be seen.

The road from *Åbo* to *Peike*, the first stage, one *Swedish* mile and a half, is broader than the generality of roads in *Sweden*, and very good. Here we found the people speaking *Finnish*, of which we understood very little. Our next stage, to *Vistū*, was through a tract of land surrounded by hills sprinkled with firs, calling to our mind the scenery near *Gothenburg* in *Sweden*, where all the hills seemed formed into basins. As we proceeded, the country was broken with woods and forests of birch and fir; and on our right we had, occasionally, views of inlets, or bays of the sea. From the information of some travellers who passed through the part of *Swedish Finland* that lies between *Åbo* and *Louisa*, we found that nothing could be more incorrect than the account they had received at *Stockholm*

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respecting the face and nature of the country. They had been told, that they would see one continued black forest: instead of this, the tract, through which they passed, in the month of *August*, presented, frequently, scenery of a most beautiful and picturesque nature. The soil, in some places, was extremely fertile; the pasture lands very rich; and the crops of corn, of which a great quantity is exported from this part of the country, abundant.

By the friendship of Baron *D'Armfeldt*, upon our arrival at *Helsingfors*, we were conducted to the famous fortress of *Sweaborg;* perhaps, after *Gibraltar*, the strongest in Europe. It is very difficult to obtain admission: and we were told that even the Baron, who was second in command in the garrison, could not procure for us leave to enter. But when he presented us to the General, the latter, after being assured that we were not travelling in any military character, permitted the Baron, and a captain of marines, to conduct us over it. I must, however, first speak of *Helsingfors*, as it occurs first in order.

Description of *Helsingfors.*

It is a small but handsome town, containing many stone houses; and, considering the size of it, carries on a very active trade: the shopkeepers deal with the neighbouring farmers, and, as at *Åbo*, with the *Finns*, who descend in num-

bers in the winter. The town was crowded with them, when we were there. The foreign commerce, as well as that of the south of *Finland*, is exclusively with *Spain*, to which country it conveys deal planks, and brings back salt; the return with this article being considered of great importance. *Helsingfors*, like *Åbo* and *Louisa*, is renowned for its deal planks; some of which we found to be twelve feet in length and two inches in thickness, perfectly fair, and very free from knots. Twelve of them, when shipped, cost, including all expenses, two rix-dollars and a half of the paper currency; about eight shillings *English*, according to the present state of exchange, which must render the profit very high. The expense of building vessels is not great here; and it is still less in the Gulf of *Bothniâ*. A ship of 150 *Swedish lasters* may be purchased for six thousand rix-dollars; and many well-constructed trading brigs do not cost more than two thousand. Of all the deals exported from the Gulf of *Finland*, those of *Frederickshamm*, a town in the *Russian* dominions, are preferred by the *Spanish* merchants.

The houses have an appearance of comfort; and the inhabitants, we were informed, lived in perfect harmony and good-will among each other. We experienced great attention and

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politeness from many of them. Nothing can be more gay and pleasing than the scene, exhibited on the ice, from *Helsingfors* to the fortress of *Sweaborg*, which is situate on an island, distant two *English* miles. The road is marked on the snow by trees, or large branches of the pine, planted in the ice. Sledges of all sizes and descriptions, open and covered, of business, burthen, or pleasure, plain or decorated, with beautiful little prancing *Finland* horses, are seen moving with the utmost rapidity, backwards and forwards, the whole way, from morning to night. Officers with their servants, ladies, soldiers, peasants, artificers, engineers, form a crowded *promenade*, more interesting and amusing than that of *Hyde Park* in *London*, or the *Corso* at *Rome*.

Fortress of *Sweaborg*.

The entrance to the fortress of *Sweaborg* is by a long and narrow arched way. Every thing around us—the massive walls, numerous batteries, intricate mazes, the prodigious quantity of cannon, and the swarms of soldiers, sentries, posts of guard—announced the strength and consequence of the place. Our passports and persons underwent, as we entered, a very rigid examination. The house of the Commandant and principal officers is a lofty white edifice, placed on an eminence, over the gateway. On an area immediately before it, stands the simple

Tomb of Count *Ernsverd*.

but characteristic Tomb of Count *Ernsverd*, the engineer who planned the works[1]. The chastity and purity of taste which are shewn in this tomb, at once bespeak the *Augustan* age of *Sweden*, and the genius of *Gustavus the Third*. Whatever is elegant in art, whatever is great and correct in design, whatever is magnificent, all came from him; and to the same source the Tomb of *Ernsverd* owes its origin. It is worthy of the finest age of *Greece*; and has, at the same time, an *Etrurian* character of durability and massiveness. It is raised upon an ascending scale of four tablets, perfectly simple and plain in all its parts; except, that on each of its oblong sides, which are indented, there are short inscriptions in gilt letters: the snow which covered them had been hardened by the frost; and we were not able to remove it, in the few moments we had leisure to examine the tomb.

Strength, size, and importance of *Sweaborg*.

Not being at all conversant with matters relating to fortification, we can give only an imperfect account of the interior wonders of this admirable fortress. Its basins, and canals, and dry docks, have been cut, with infinite labour and art, out of the solid rock; and works for its further improvement are still going on. The roofs and chimneys of all the store-houses and

(1) See the *Vignette* to this Chapter.

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magazines are covered with copper. Strong ladders reach from the basins to the tops of the buildings, which, in case of fire, must be particularly serviceable; for they are as stout and broad as staircases; and every one of them would allow persons ascending and descending to pass each other. In different parts of the fortress are a great number of cannon taken from the *Russians*, which may be distinguished from those of *Sweden* by their shortness.

Here are kept the *Galleys*, capable of being worked equally with sails or oars. The dry docks, large enough to receive the fleet, have a very narrow entrance: one vessel only can be admitted at a time. Batteries of various heights, appearing like mountains of massive masonry, command every port and avenue of the works. Water is admitted by gates or locks; and, when necessary, it is afterwards carried off by mill-pumps. Every vessel has its proper place: and the ships are laid up in a manner so convenient and admirable, as to be ready at the shortest notice; and are carefully preserved, when not in use. At the time of our visit, they were constructing a dock sufficiently large to enable them to build a ship of one hundred guns in it[1].

(1) As the Fortress of *Sweaborg* has been seldom visited or described, some additional information is here annexed, from *Fortia's Travels in Sweden*,

The garrison, at present, consists of three regiments, one of marines and two of infantry. There are besides, in *Helsingfors* and *Sweaborg*, twelve hundred artillery soldiers; but only two hundred in the fortress. In time of war, the garrison contains ten thousand men, a number necessary to its proper defence. For these, every accommodation can be afforded within the walls. All the officers reside here with their families, in very comfortable apartments; but we were informed, by those who had served in *France*, in the *Régiment Royale de la Suède*, that in *Lisle*, and other fortresses of that country, the accommodations were far superior; a captain being lodged better there, than a colonel in *Sweaborg*. The inhabitants of the garrison live

Sweden, *in* 1790—1792. The fortress is composed of seven small islands, or rather rocks, three of which are joined to each other by bridges. It requires half an hour to pass over from *Helsingfors* to the principal island (*Gustafholm*), on which the Governor's house is situate. No communication between the fortress and the town is practicable during the prevalence of a strong south-west wind. The construction of this place was begun in 1748; and although it be not yet complete, it is in a perfectly defensible condition. The harbour is excellent, being capable of containing sixty sail of the line. Large vessels cannot enter, but by an extremely narrow channel, commanded by the guns of the fortress. We saw, exclusively of mortars, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, which point upon this passage; and nearly one thousand pieces altogether, including the land batteries, in the different forts. Many of the works are cut out of the solid rock. There is an eighth island, contiguous to that in which the fortress is situated; whence, in case of the enemy getting a station, it might be successfully attacked.—*See Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels, vol.* VI.

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in the most pleasant and social manner: they have their assemblies and balls, at which more than forty ladies, many of them of great beauty, make their appearance.

Sweaborg is much larger than *Portsmouth*; and, according to the opinion of *Swedish* officers who have seen both places, it is much stronger. They deem it impregnable: but whether it could be properly defended in the winter-time—when access to it is rendered so easy by the ice, and when, for want of water, which then becomes frozen in all the basins, a conflagration would produce the most dreadful effects—we shall leave to the decision of persons who are more competent than ourselves to speak on these matters. Notwithstanding the extent of the works which were at that time carrying on, there were not more than three hundred men employed when we were at *Sweaborg*.

Route from *Helsingfors* to *Borgo* and *Louisa*.

From *Helsingfors* we came to *Borgo*, where we stopped at a good but extravagant inn. The town is small; though, for *Finland*, it is a considerable one. It has a *Gymnasium*, or School; and possesses a Library, in which are preserved some of the earliest works of *Linnæus*. The houses are of wood, and painted red: the inhabitants are chiefly *Swedes*. As we proceeded to *Forsby*, the road became more rocky. We passed

some woods of birch and fir; and in the latter part of our route, before we arrived at *Louisa*, we perceived a lake on our right. As we entered this town, we were stopped by a Custom-house officer; who intended, as we supposed, that we should unpack all our baggage: but he at last observed, that if we would give him something, he would suffer us to pass. The manners of the people began to change; and we found nothing here to remark, but dirt and drunkenness. The town is rather pretty, and the principal street is wide: in summer it may perhaps be entitled to more praise; as, doubtless, all these maritime places, situate on bays, creeks, and among islands, must then have a beautiful appearance; for their shores are rarely destitute of trees.

We could not quit *Louisa* so early as we wished; being delayed by our pass, which, it should seem, was examined by many different persons; for it was sent for, and brought back again, several times. It was necessary also to have our *Swedish* paper changed for *Russian* money, that we might be able to pay for our horses on the other side of the frontier. We here found that the *Russian* rouble was worth forty schillings *Swedish*. In going to *Tesjo*, we passed a forest of firs, growing in the interstices

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of large loose rocks of granite. We slept at this place, within half a mile of the *Swedish* and *Russian* frontiers, in order that we might be ready to undergo the examination of the Custom-house officers early the next morning.

Approach to the *Russian* Frontier.

We know not how to paint the extreme contrast which appears in the short distance of an *English* mile—from the *Swedish* to the *Russian* guard. The country is still *Finland,* but it is *Russian Finland;* and to heighten the difference between an union with *Sweden,* and a subjugation by *Russia,* the *Russian Finns* are not those who make their appearance at the guard, but soldiers from the interior of the empire; the reason of which will soon appear. In a company of the *Tavasthuus* militia, stationed at a small distance from the *Swedish Douane,* on the east side of the western branch of the river, which separates the two countries, we had the last view of the benevolent and mild inhabitants of *Sweden.* They were a sturdy and athletic troop: and as it gave us a melancholy satisfaction to prolong the few moments of our farewell, by conversation with them, the officer on duty politely accompanied us as far as the *Russian* guard.

Boundaries of the *Swedish* and *Russian* dominions.

In passing the little island which lies between the *Swedish* and the *Russian* bridge, we expressed a curiosity to know what formed the precise

boundary of the two countries. The *Swedish* officer shewed us a stone of about two tons weight, which is the only object that is supposed to break the neutrality of this interval between the respective posts. Higher to the north is the *Tammijara,* a small lake in the western branch of the *Kymene* River; which river, with the more remote waters of the *Pyhå* and *Wuokå* lakes, forms the line of demarcation[1].

When the mind has been accustomed to repose implicitly on the fidelity and virtues of those around us, it is difficult to submit it all at once to a system of suspicion and caution. The confidence which had originated in the long-experienced honesty, goodness, and placid benignity of the inhabitants of *Sweden* did not entirely forsake us, as it ought to have done, on entering *Russia.* A few miles, nay, even a few yards, conduct you from a land of hospitality

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(1) "*Sweden* is at present reduced to the narrow but long country situate between *Norway* on the one hand, and the *Baltic* and the *Gulf of Bothniâ* on the other. The loss of *Finland* is to be regretted, as a diminution of her population: the *Finlanders* were fully as warlike as the *Swedes;* and they seem to have a superiority over them in industry. But these disadvantages are scarcely a balance to the additional security which *Sweden* has thence derived, and to the consequent diminution of their expenses, as far as it is necessary to provide for the security of their country."—*Thomson's Travels in Sweden,* 1813. *p.* 417.

When Dr. *Thomson* visited *Sweden, Norway* had not been annexed to that country.

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and virtue, to a den of thieves. We suffered for this want of caution, in the loss of the first moveables on which the *Russians* could lay their hands. We had, indeed, been forewarned of their pilfering disposition, but did not imagine that we should so soon experience the truth of the information which we had received respecting this part of the *Russian* character.

Contrast between the Natives of the two countries.

We have alluded to the guard of soldiers who are sent from the interior of the country, to be stationed on the *Russian* frontier. In this, we see a remarkable contrast in the manners of the two nations. The *Swedish* frontier is guarded by the *Tavasthuus* militia, natives of the districts they are stationed to defend. *Sweden* carries on no war against its own subjects; it transacts no deeds of darkness on its own frontier; the defence of them is entrusted to armed natives.

Mode of recruiting the *Russian* army.

But with *Russia*, the case is very different: her Government was employed, at the time we entered the country, in kidnapping, during the night, all the young men who could be found in their houses, to supply the armies. Their hands and legs were bound, and they were cast into sledges, like calves. As this naturally begets a desire in the *Russians* who inhabit the borders to migrate to the *Swedish* side, that they may experience the influence of a milder govern-

ment, it is necessary to have *piquets* stationed along the line, and roving Cossacks, to prevent desertion. Strangers are evidently wanted for this purpose; as few of the natives would intercept a brother or a friend, in his flight from tyranny.

Having crossed the *Russian* bridge, we were ordered to halt, by one of the sentinels, a dwarfish meagre figure with a sallow complexion and a long cloak, who, with scarcely strength enough to shoulder a musket, stood shivering before a large fire. A little above was the wretched hovel which serves as a guard-house. Notice being given of our arrival, we were ordered to approach; and after a few necessary ceremonies, we passed to the Custom-house, a little higher up on the left-hand. Here we were ushered into a tolerably neat little room, where sate an officer with a lame foot on a couch. He could neither talk *French* nor *English*, and very little *Swedish;* so that we had no means of communication, until at length he surprised us by asking if we spoke *Latin.* Our passports were then examined, and returned. We had reason to fear that our servants would be detained; for although they had been included in the passports of the *Danish* and *Swedish* Sovereigns, and expressly mentioned in that of our

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own Government, they had not been included in the *Russian*. Our passports were, however, signed and delivered to us, with an assurance that we were at liberty to proceed. As we advanced to the carriage, an inspector of the Customs, a renegado *Finn*, informed us, in the *Swedish* language, that he had two handsome pipes to sell. We thanked him, but informed him that we did not use tobacco. "*Yah so*[1]!" he replied; "but you have some *Swedish* money, which I will accept in exchange for *Russian*." He then produced two false notes, one for fifty, the other for five roubles, which, he said, was all the *Russian* money he possessed. As the imposition was too glaring to pass, and the *Swedish* officer openly pronounced the notes to be bad, we declined having any dealings with the Inspector. Upon this, he snatched from my hands one of our passports; and opening it, declared, that as the names of the servants were not included, they might attempt to proceed at their peril; calling, at the same time, to the soldiers to mind their duty, or to abide the consequences. We in vain entreated that they might be accompanied by a guard to *Fredericks-*

Iniquitous conduct of a *Russian* Inspector of the Customs.

(1) For the different import and meaning of this expression, see p. 157 of this volume.

hamm, where we might state our situation to the Commandant; adding, that all expenses should be defrayed by us, and the soldiers liberally rewarded. We represented, that a journey of three hundred versts, to *Petersburg*, in so severe a season of the year, with so much baggage, and without a knowledge of the language, would subject us to the greatest hardships, and perhaps to the loss of all our trunks. But our attempts to persuade him were fruitless: his honour had been wounded by the detection of his villainy; and therefore, making a virtue of revenge, he would for once fulfil his duty to his Sovereign, by exactions of the most vexatious and frivolous kind. He had also, without doubt, a hope that our servants would be left in his hands; by which means a new demand might be made upon us, subject to the most flagrant imposition. The *Swedish* officer, with the politeness and hospitality of his nation, and justly indignant at what he had witnessed, conducted them back to *Louisa*, assuring us that they should be taken care of, until we were able to send for them from *Petersburg*.

Difficulties that impede the traveller in *Russia*.

The author has frequently avoided, in the course of the account of these Travels, the unnecessary insertion of circumstances and adventures, the narrative of which might have the

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appearance of egotism. The statement of what occurred on first entering the *Russian* frontier will not, he trusts, expose him to this charge. An omission of that which serves to characterize a nation, or part of a nation, and which may prove a caution to travellers, would be, indeed, neglect. We might add, to the conduct of the inspector, a catalogue of difficulties which quickly succeeded each other, during our expedition to *Petersburg*, through a country more inhospitable than the deserts of *Tahtary*. Attempts were frequently made to impede our progress. In the small towns, there is generally found a miserable innkeeper, to whom the officers are frequently in debt: it is his interest, therefore, to detain the traveller: and the officer on guard, or even his superior, has little difficulty in discovering some method by which this object may be accomplished.

The tract of land between *Aberfors* and *Frederickshamm* is the scene of the last glories in the life of *Gustavus the Third* of *Sweden*. He carried his conquests even to the walls of that fortress; and, had it not been for the perfidy of his officers, would have received a more splendid crown of victory within the city of *Petersburg*. The spot, where the contest between the armies was most severe, is about three *Swedish* miles from

Aberfors, at *Anjala*. In this route, wherever the *Russians* appeared, a striking difference was visible between their figure, features, manners and dress, and those of the *Finns*. The hair and complexion of the latter were lighter: the *Russians* wore long beards, with their necks bare. At a short distance before we arrived at *Frederickshamm*, we passed round a *Russian* station, the fortifications of which had been lately thrown up. We considered ourselves happy in not meeting with any further interruption. We saw few peasants; and those whom we met had a very poor and wretched aspect.

Arrival at *Fredericks-hamm*.

It is impossible to conceive a more desolate tract of country than the whole route from *Louisa* to *Frederickshamm*. Some white houses, particularly the Town-house, a large building in the centre, painted white and green, gave to *Frederickshamm* a lively appearance. The fortifications were very regular; and the street, by which we entered, was straight, and terminated in the Town-house. We were suffered to proceed through the exterior parts of the fortifications without interruption; but on coming to the interior gate, we were stopped, and our passes examined. While we were detained, a sudden shout was raised by all the soldiers on guard; and they ran to arms. We found, on

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looking round, that the appearance of the Governor, in his carriage, was the cause of this bustle. The beating of the drums, and the noise of the muskets, made our horses rear and plunge; and as we were in the gateway, the Governor was obliged to give orders to the soldiers to cease, that we might move on one side, and make room for him. When he had passed, some of the officers spoke to us in *French*, and asked how long we proposed staying in the town; and said that our passports should be returned to us the next morning. We were informed, that it was necessary to obtain from the Governor a paper, called *poderosnoy*, to shew at every post-house; as without it we could not procure horses. For this paper we were to pay one copeek a verst, for each horse. The Commandant of the garrison shewed us great civility: we attended his levee, with all the officers, whom he received in his *robe de chambre*, with his breast and bosom bare. Having received our passports, which were signed and countersigned, and our permit for horses, we set out; but were stopped for above half an hour on quitting the town, and our passports were again examined.

Regulations relating to Posting in *Russia*.

Frederickshamm had once a little trade; but since the exportation of timber has been for-

bidden, and the town has been filled with soldiers, this has almost entirely ceased. We proceeded to *Kouxis,* distant sixteen versts, through a stony and rocky kind of country: the road during the next stage was varied with more hills. At every post-house, when we asked for horses, twelve or fifteen peasants generally made their appearance. They were dressed chiefly in a kind of loose coarse linen coat and trowsers, and had a particularly clownish and boorish look. At each of these houses, a *Russian* soldier is placed, as the manager; and to him we were directed to give ten copeeks, for what is called, in *England,* drink-money. He also receives the sum which is to be paid for the horses; and demands it before the traveller leaves the place. This regulation was caused by the conduct of the *Russian* officers, who not unfrequently paid the poor peasants with the blows of their canes, instead of with copper. Many of the houses, in the villages we passed through, were without chimneys; and the houses themselves were of smaller size, and of a more miserable appearance than those we had remarked in *Swedish Finland.* The peasants whom we saw in this journey bore a strong resemblance to the *Laplanders.* It is almost impossible for the Reader, from any thing he has either seen

Regulation relating to Posting in *Russia.*

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Description of the Posthouses in *Russian Finland.*

or heard, to form any idea of the inside of these post-houses. That at *Ursala* was nothing but a dark hole: a partition with something like a bed in it was reserved for the *Russian* soldier, to whom the *Finnish* peasants seemed to pay great respect. The other part of the room had a broad bench round it, placed against the walls, on which the peasants slept. We were, upon the whole, much struck with the evident inferiority, both in looks and apparent condition, of the *Russian Finlanders*, in comparison with the *Swedish*.

Intense cold of the weather during the night.

The distance between *Frederickshamm* and *Wibourg* is one hundred and ten versts; and there is not a single house in which it is possible for a traveller to sleep. The thermometer fell, during the night, to fifteen and twenty degrees below 0 of *Celsius:* and we were sometimes compelled to go into the post-houses for warmth. In the carriage our breath froze into a coat of ice on an earthenware bottle, as we drank some wine; and if we held it to our mouth, the skin stuck to it. All the furs we could apply to our bodies and feet were no defence against the frost. The poor peasants, who drove us, presented, at the end of every stage, faces as it were in armour with ice; and their fur-caps and hair were covered with icicles. When we stepped

into their houses, which are as hot as a vapour-bath, we found the air within, on opening the door, instantly converted to snow[1], which is whirled round and round, so that every thing in the first moment is invisible, as if the room were filled with a thick smoke. When this has subsided, a scene presents itself, to which nothing in any part of *Lapland* has the least resemblance. The only light is afforded by a deal splinter stuck horizontally within the wall. The roof and sides are as black as night. As the thick vapour disperses, a figure appears close to you, with a long dark beard, and hair eyes, distilling rheum; and a face fixed in mute astonishment. Suddenly, from a sloping bench, like a writing-desk, extending the whole length of the apartment, twelve or thirteen other similar spectres start up, with a Babel confusion of tongues—*Finnish*, *Swedish*, *Russian*.

There is no country where horses are supplied with greater expedition: sixteen may be found waiting at every stage; and in no part of *Europe* can accidents to your harness or sledge be more quickly repaired. Our traces broke; and half-

(1) *Maupertuis* and the *French* Academicians, in their journey to *Torneå* to measure a degree for ascertaining the figure of the earth, made a similar remark: "On opening the door of a warm room, the external air, rushing in, instantly converted the vapour into a fleece of snow."

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a-dozen peasants, in the midst of a crowd which one would have imagined would only have confused them, formed a braided work of ropes in a few moments, which lasted the whole of the way from *Frederickshamm* to *Wibourg*. We travelled during the night, without any moon; frequently at the rate of ten versts in the hour. Ten copeeks, or five pence, for six horses, is the usual sum paid to the peasants; but fifteen (or sevenpence-halfpenny), which I believe is generally given by *English* travellers to these poor men, is received by them with surprise and joy.

Arrival at *Wibourg*.

When we arrived at the gates of *Wibourg*, our drivers suddenly withdrew; and, huddling together under the gate, remained for two hours in a degree of cold that we thought would have killed the horses, without telling us the reason. The gates of the fortress were not yet opened; and we waited until seven o'clock in that situation. As soon as we arrived, the Commandant and General-in-chief of the forces at *Wibourg*, General *Von Vrangel*, sent for us, by one of his officers; received us with great politeness; invited us to a masquerade, and to dinner; and requested us to attend him upon the parade at eleven o'clock. He said he had received orders to permit us to proceed on our journey to

Petersburg, ever since the month of *May*. This was information of great importance to us; for an officer soon discovered, and remarked, that our passes were not from the Crown.

Wibourg, in the time of the late Empress, was burnt down: it has been rebuilt upon a regular plan. The edifices are all of brick, none of wood being allowed; and are large and grand: the square is very spacious. The town has a military appearance: drums are heard from morning to night: the troops are exercised every day, not excepting *Sundays*. We could not help admiring the extraordinary regularity and accuracy with which they performed all their manœuvres. The soldiers, when collected together, seemed a fine set of men; but when we examined them individually, we were disappointed in their appearance. The officers, of whom there were many present, were, in general, ill-looking, small, badly made; and very few of them had the air of Gentlemen. Once or twice during the exercise, every one present pulled off his hat: we observed this ceremony repeated frequently; and there was much apparent servility on the part of the inferior officers towards the higher. With the leave of the Commandant, we walked round the ramparts, accompanied by the *Major de Place*, who was

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also a Lieutenant-colonel. He informed us, in *French*, that the troops commanded by General *Von Vrangel* consisted of four battalions, each of a thousand men; and that there were in addition, in the town, two battalions, also of a thousand men each, under the command of General *Kutusof*, the General-in-chief of the forces in *Finland;* and a corps of engineers. The town is generally provisioned for a year: it seemed to consist chiefly of the houses of the officers, barracks for the soldiers, magazines, and churches. To garrison the place in time of war, the Colonel informed us that sixteen thousand men would be necessary. The fortifications were strong and regular, but very little assisted by nature. From the top of the tower of the castle, which is of some height, we had a view of the surrounding country. The situation was flat, and the *fauxbourgs* had a poor and miserable appearance. The port will not admit ships that draw more than eight or ten feet water. Many of the merchants have become bankrupts, by the Emperor's prohibition of the exportation of timber, in which their trade principally consisted. Applications have been made, to export what has been already cut; but without success.

The day after our arrival at *Wibourg*, our

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curiosity got the better of our feelings, and we went to see the mode in which the *Russians* inflict punishment on their soldiers, for desertion. Five hundred men were drawn up, in three lines, forming two alleys, through which the deserter was to pass six times. A drummer preceded him, to prevent his walking too fast; and each soldier had a stick, with which he struck him. As soon as the punishment began, we turned another way; but were informed, afterwards, that it was more severe than we should have expected from the size of the sticks. Many soldiers desert into *Swedish Finland;* but they are frequently apprehended, in their attempts to reach the frontier, by the peasants; who are exasperated against them, on account of the robberies which they commit in their flight, for the purpose of supporting themselves. Five silver roubles are the reward for taking a deserter.

Russian mode of inflicting punishment on Deserters.

The inhabitants of *Wibourg* are partly *Russians* and partly *Finns*. The former are generally distinguished by their beards: in their dress, they have the appearance of *Jews*, a long loose coat being tied round the waist with a sash. The *Finland* girls wear their hair drawn together, and fastened at the back of the head with a little circular roll, and a pin stuck through it. The principal articles in request in this

Inhabitants of *Wibourg*.

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town, as luxuries, are, *French* brandy, sugar, wine, and coffee, all of which are very dear. The *Finns*, who bring corn and planks to *Wibourg*, return with salt. Here, and at *Frederickshamm*, we found the finest bread we had ever tasted. On inquiring the price of provisions, we were informed that a sack of rye of nine *pouds* cost seven roubles; which is not higher than it was two or three years ago, though double or triple of what it was twenty or twenty-five years since.

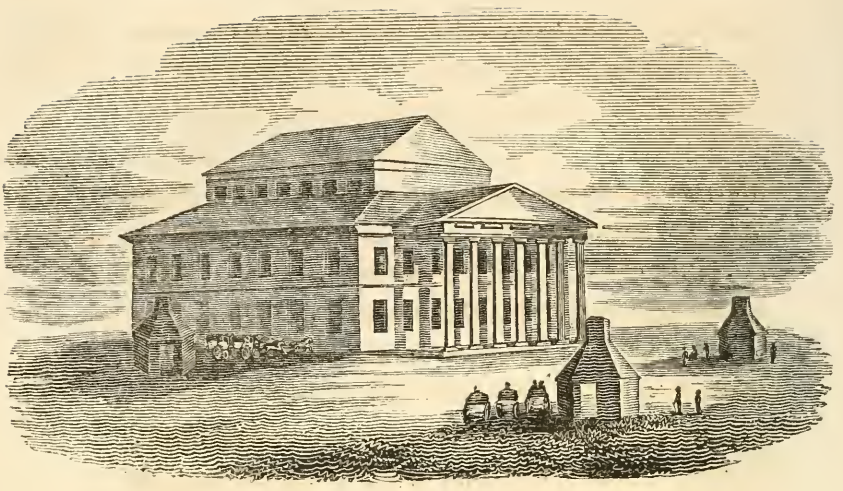
From *Wibourg*, we proceeded, through *Konuta* and *Rorwer*, to *Pampola*, a distance of sixty-two versts, over a flat country, passing through forests of fir and birch trees. *Pampola* is rather a large village: we observed the gable-ends of the houses always turned towards the road: the only openings which were left for light were, one small window with glass, and two holes on each side without any; all placed at the same end of the house. At *Bulostrof*, thirty-eight versts distant from *Pampola*, we entered one of the peasant's cottages, a wretched abode quite black with smoke: the holes for light, on each side of the window, were not so much as a foot square. There appeared to be two families, consisting of two men, two women, and five or six children: the latter did not look so unhealthy

as we might have expected from the extreme heat and dirt of the room. A bench, round two sides of the cottage, appeared to be the general sleeping-place. They expressed great surprise on our entering; and one of the women, on my offering to her a five-copeek piece, stared, and refused to take it. I then placed it on the table, where was some bread; of which they offered me a piece, in return for the money. The bread was of rye, dark-coloured, little baked, but had not a bad taste.

In going to *Drasnicof*, we passed through the same land of country as before; but the firs were of larger size. The roads are made, in general, with small trees, thrown across, and covered with dirt and sand. When the trees are decayed, or recently laid down, the motion of the carriage is extremely rough and unpleasant.

Arrival at *Petersburg*.

The view of *Petersburg* presented itself to us at some distance before we arrived at the last barrier, where our passports were examined. We then entered a broad and perfectly straight avenue; the further extremity being terminated by the domes and palaces of the city.



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PETERSBURG.

General appearance of the City—Novelty of the Scene exhibited in the Dresses and Figures of the Inhabitants —Expense in the mode of living among the Higher Ranks—Collections of Art, in the possession of Individuals—Amusements of the different Classes of Society —Ice-Hills—Visit to some of the Public Institutions— Academy of Sciences—Library attached to it—Museum —valuable Collections, in different branches of Natural History, preserved there—PETER THE FIRST—*Academy of Fine Arts—nature of the Institution—Fortress— Tombs of the Imperial Family—Mint—Statue of* Peter the First—*defect of taste in the Artist—expense of*

of the Work—Hermitage—Pictures—Hall of St. George —Palaces of Peterhof *and* Oranienbaum—*State of the Peasantry—Mode of managing the estates of the* Russian *Nobility—Checks to Population.*

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We reached the first gate of *Petersburg* about eleven o'clock; and were ordered by the sentinel to stop, and descend from our carriage. Our passports were presented, as usual; but he would not even lift up his arm to take them: it was contrary to order, he said, to receive them; and we must go ourselves to the officer upon guard; by whom we were detained half an hour, and then sent with a sentinel to the city. We approached it by its most beautiful quarter, crossing the *Neva* upon the ice, which was covered with sledges; and landed again opposite to the *Marble Palace.*

General appearance of the city.

The united magnificence of all the cities of *Europe* could but equal *Petersburg*. There is nothing little or mean, to offend the eye—all is grand, extensive, large, and open. The streets, which are wide and straight, seem to consist entirely of palaces: the edifices are white, lofty, and regular. At first sight, the whole city appears to be built with stone; but on a nearer inspection, you find the walls are of brick, covered with plaister; yet every part is so clean and in such excellent order, and has an appear-

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ance so new, that the effect is as fine and striking as if they were formed of marble. The public structures, on whatever side you direct your attention—quays, piers, ramparts—are all composed of masses of solid granite[1], calculated to endure for ages. It seems as if the antient *Etruscans* or *Egyptians*—stimulated by emulation to surpass their prodigious works, aided by despotic power, and instructed by *Grecian* taste —had arisen, to astonish the modern world. Such is the metropolis which *Catharine* has left! Much had been done by her predecessors; but her labours surpassed them all: and our admiration is increased, while we behold the magnificence of the buildings, the breadth of the streets, the squares, and openings, and noble palaces—and recollect that a century has not yet elapsed, since the first stone of the foundation of the city was laid by *Peter the Great.*

We were told that we should find *Petersburg* like *London,* and that we should everywhere hear the language and see the manners of *England;*

(1) " Les quais de la *Neva* et du magnifique *Canal de Catharine* sont construits de ce granit: les remparts de la fortresse en sont revêtus." *Patrin. Histoire Naturelle des Minéraux,* tome I. p. 96. The granite he alludes to is called *Granit de l'Ingrie,* which he describes, p. 95. He there states, that a colonnade in the Summer Garden is composed of more than sixty pillars of granite; each column being of one piece, twenty feet in length, and three feet in diameter.

but nothing can be farther from the truth. This city presents to the stranger a sight as novel and interesting as any which he will meet with in *Europe*. In the general appearance of features and countenance, the *Russians* have nothing very characteristic; and when their beards are cut off, as is the case with those who live as servants in the families of Gentlemen, they could not be distinguished from *Englishmen:* but in the dresses of the people we are reminded of the inhabitants of some *Asiatic* towns; though perhaps in summer, when the robes, pelisses, and caps are not worn, the impression may be different. The resemblance to *Asiatic* customs and manners, perceptible in *Moscow* and *Petersburg*, will probably decrease, in proportion to the intercourse of the *Russians* with other parts of *Europe*. The style of dress in the seventeenth century was more Oriental than it is at present: a robe was then in use called *Feredja*, which is a *Turkish* word[2]. At this season, the streets are filled with sledges; and with peasants in various costumes, having long beards, straight locks, bare necks, and their feet covered with shoes of the matted bark of trees.

(2) In parts of *Petersburg*, the shops which sell the same articles adjoin each other, as in the Bazars of *Constantinople* and other cities of the *East*.

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Expense in the mode of living among the higher ranks.

With respect to magnificence, *Petersburg* is as much superior to *London*, as *London* is to any provincial city in *England;* and the style and mode of living adopted by the Nobles exceeds all belief. The most distant provinces of the empire are explored, to furnish some delicacy for their entertainments: two, three, or even four hundred roubles are expended on particular dishes. At no season of the year are their tables without fruits of the rarest and most exquisite kind. Immense revenues are necessary, to support the prodigality and profusion exhibited by many of the *Russians* of the highest rank. The number of servants who are the vassals of the great land-owners amounts to two or three hundred; who supply, in various ways, by their different occupations, the wants, tastes, and demands of their masters[1]. The love and admiration of what is foreign, encourage many strangers to settle here, whose talents and ingenuity are constantly employed in furnishing and ornamenting the palaces of the Noblemen in the most sumptuous and splendid manner.

The Collections of Art in the possession of

(1) "I never put my hands into my purse for any thing," said a *Russian* Nobleman to a friend of the writer of this note, "but to purchase foreign wines, and articles for my wife's dress."—He was provided with every thing he wanted from his estate and his slaves.

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Collections of Art in the possession of individuals.

individuals at *Petersburg*, as well as in *London*, were enriched by very valuable works, which, in consequence of the revolutions in parts of *Europe*, were disposed over the Continent. Some of these we were allowed, by the kindness and hospitality of their owners, to examine; but they neither equal in extent or in real value those we have described, in another Part of this Work, as existing at *Moscow*. The Picture-gallery of Count *Strogonof* is a long room terminated by an enormous mirror, which, sliding on one side, opens to the Library; and beyond that is the Museum. Among the most remarkable paintings, we shall mention; 1. The Flight into Egypt, by *Nicolas Poussin*, the most brilliant work of that master. 2. A Centaur fighting with one of the Lapithæ, by *Luca Giordano*. 3. *Les Pecheurs*, by *Teniers*, a work much esteemed by *connoisseurs*. 4. A Philosopher, or Hermit, by *Rembrandt*, of great effect. 5. A Holy Family, by *Schedoni*, from the collection of *Monsieur de Calonne*. 6. Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar, by *Dietrici*. 7. The famous *Claude*, originally belonging to the *Duchess of Kingston*. It is singular, that, in rubbing this picture, a figure has appeared, which the painter had concealed. 8. The finest Portrait by *Vandyke* that perhaps ever proceeded from his hand. *Vernet*, standing

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for some time opposite to it, at *Paris*, at length exclaimed, "*Parle donc!*" There are also many good pictures by *Spagnolet*, *Kuyp*, and *Berghami*. In the Museum is a curious Plate of *China* porcelain; the outer varnish of which having worn off, a representation is seen of the Crucifixion, with these letters over the cross, 'INRI.' The Cabinet of Mineralogy contains very magnificent specimens, but without any order or classification. There is a whole cabinet of *malachite:* one piece, bought of Dr. *Guthrie* for a prodigious sum, is contained in a case by itself. The finest specimens are furnished by *China* and *Siberia:* the mine of *Goumechefski* formerly produced the best; but this mineral is now no longer found there[1].

Count *Besberodko* was engaged only four years in forming his collection; but spared no expense, during that time, to render it as complete as possible. We found there many pictures we had seen before in different parts of *Europe*. Among them is a most singular one, by *Dietrici:* it is said there are others, at *Dresden*, executed

(1) "La mine de Goumechefski est à douze ou quinze lieues au sud-ouest d'Ekaterinbourg, dans la partie centrale de la chaîne des Monts Oural; c'est de toutes les mines connues celle qui a fourni les plus beaux morceaux en ce genre. Cette mine est dans une espèce de plaine, au bord d'un lac, et tout entourée de montagnes primitives."—*Patrin. Histoire Naturelle des Minéraux, tome* V. *p.* 97.

in the same style: it possesses, instead of his laboured and finished manner, the wildness and boldness of *Salvator Rosa*.—'JUDITH WITH THE HEAD OF HOLOFERNES,' I had seen at *Venice*: the drapery is green, but remarkably kept down. On approaching to examine the colours in detail, they will be found to consist of yellow, brown, black, white, and many other demi-tints. In addition to the excellent pictures by the Masters of the *Lombard*, *Bolognese*, and *Venetian* Schools, there is a whole cabinet of the best works of *Vernet*, containing views of the principal towns and harbours of *Europe*. The collection of antiquities is very great; and there is a magnificent room, planned by *Guarenghi*, and finished under his direction, furnished in the most splendid and costly manner. The Library of Baron *Strogonof* undoubtedly contains some valuable books; but many of the editions are modern: they are very splendid; and the owner seems in general to have paid more attention to finery and show than utility. We observed in it three different copies of the *French Encyclopédie*.

Notices attached to the advertisements and bills of the Play-houses mark in a striking manner the character of the climate. They state, that if the cold is below 17 degrees

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there will be no representation at the Theatre[1]. The observations are made on the scale of *Reaumur;* and there is hardly a house, whatever be the rank of its owner, without a thermometer.

Amusements of the different classes of Society.

The masquerades form part of the amusements at this season. The first took place on a *Sunday,* at ten in the morning. At night, the Empress came, followed by the wives of the Grand-dukes *Alexander* and *Constantine,* and by all the Court. The dances began soon after her arrival. Madame *Chevalier,* the mistress of *Koutizof* the Emperor's favourite, seemed to occupy as much attention as the Empress herself. Another masquerade, on the following *Tuesday,* was much crowded, and there were more persons in character than in dominoes. The most interesting were a set of costumes of the different provinces of the empire.

While the higher orders partake of the diversions of the season, the lower ranks are not without their festivities and sports. The frozen *Neva* presents a crowded and busy scene. In one part, booths are erected on the ice, where brandy and drams of every kind are sold: in another direction are pedlars, mountebanks, and

(1) The Vignette to this Chapter represents the *Stone Theatre,* as it appeared in 1801; with some of the Public Stoves.

jugglers, and the pastimes of Bartholomew Fair: in a different place are dramatic representations of a burlesque and ridiculous nature, to which the spectators are admitted for a few copeeks. The ice-hills afford an amusement to the populace, peculiar to the inhabitants of *Russia*. A scaffolding of wood is raised on the river, to the height of forty feet: from the summit, an inclined plane, having a steep descent, is covered with blocks of ice, firmly united together by water poured over them. The sides of the steps, or ladder, which lead by the back part of the scaffolding to the top, are decorated with fir-trees. The low sledge, resembling, in shape, a butcher's tray, descends the hill with a rapidity sufficiently great to carry the person seated in it over a large tract of ice cleared of the snow, to an opposite scaffolding, constructed in a similar manner. Here he takes his sledge on his back, mounts the steps, and proceeds as before. Those who do not wish to descend alone, have a guide, who seats himself in the sledge as far back as he can, raising his legs at the same time: the other person is placed before him, and between his legs, in a similar position[2]. The sledges, horses, and

Ice-hills.

(2) This mode of descending is very well described in the *Voyage de Deux François*. "Le traineau consiste en une petite planche plus longue que large, et peu elevée; une seule personne peut s'y tenir, encore n'est

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carriages, moving about in various directions, and the crowds of spectators who assemble to behold this amusement, present a very striking and animated scene.

Visit to some of the Public Institutions.

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that a city like *Petersburg* must possess many public Institutions—many monuments of art and industry, which afford to the stranger a constant subject of interest and instruction. No quarter of the Capital is without them. Some account will now be given of those we visited, during our residence here.

Academy of Sciences.

The *Academy of Sciences*, founded by *Peter the Great* in 1724, has received donations and encouragement from all the succeeding Sovereigns, and particularly *Catharine the Second.* The present revenue is from seventy to eighty thousand roubles. The Academicians are called Professors, and have salaries varying from eight hundred to fifteen hundred roubles. Some of them derive an income, in addition to their

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n'est elle point à son aise. Le conducteur du traineau est assis, les jambes ouvertes, entre lesquelles se place celui qui veut descendre. L'un et l'autre ont l'attention de tenir les jambes fort elevées, et le corps très en arriére: ainsi placés, et le traineau étant parfaitement droit, on le conduit au bord de la descente, et on le laisse aller: le conducteur le dirige. La rapidité de la course est prodigieuse: et le traineau arrivé sur le terrain plat, parcourt une assez grande étendue. Dans le premier moment la respiration est fort genée; il faut avoir l'attention de ne faire aucun mouvement d'un coté ou d'un autre; on seroit culbuté."

stipends, from places or offices connected with the Government: there are, however, others, who are not so fortunate; and, finding the salary, which was fixed at a time when the articles of life were at a lower price than they are now, insufficient to maintain them, become tutors and ushers in different seminaries. The four classes are those of Mathematics, Physics, Natural History, comprehending Chemistry and Anatomy, and Astronomy: and, on each of these subjects, lectures are given, at certain times of the year, in the *Russian* language. Among the distinguished members of the Academy, are found the names of *Bayer*, *Gmelin*, *Euler*, *Müller*, and *Pallas*.

Library.

The books of the *Library* amount, in number, to fifty thousand. We cannot expect to find in it the literary treasures which are the ornament of those of *London*, *Paris*, and *Vienna*: there are few Greek or Latin manuscripts; but there are many works, relating to the history of the country, of great value; and the collection of *Chinese*, *Mongol*, and *Tangutiān* manuscripts is *unique*. In a gallery, were arranged the dresses of various nations; and waxen figures of the inhabitants, in their proper costumes — *Persian*, *Chinese*, *Siberian*, and *Samoyede*. The human countenance is here seen modified according to every possible

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form—"long and round heads, flat and snub noses, hogs' eyes and calves' eyes, bearded and unbearded chins, succeed each other, in grotesque variety."

Museum.

The example of *Peter the Great*, who had expended large sums in procuring the most curious productions of nature and art to enrich the *Museum*, was followed by his successors, and by many of the nobles of the empire. Additions are constantly made to the *Museum*, by the Academicians who are travelling in the remote provinces of *Russia*, or in different parts of *Europe*. The treasures which it contains, relating to the mineral and vegetable kingdoms, are, perhaps, unrivalled. According to the account of *Bachmeister*, there are five hundred animals of different sizes, stuffed, or preserved in alcohol: there are also twelve hundred birds, stuffed: and the classes of amphibia, fishes, and insects, are very numerous. The Collection of *Ruysch*, containing the anatomical preparations of that great naturalist, was purchased by *Peter the Great*, in *Holland*, for thirty thousand florins.

Workshop of *Peter the First.*

From the *Library*, we were introduced into a small chamber, which was the Workshop of *Peter the First*, filled with different carvings in ivory and copper, all executed by him, and generally representing sieges or battles. In the

middle of the room was a large ivory lustre by the same hand; a number of medals struck on different occasions; and the battle of *Pultowa* in relief, on a large plate of copper. In a gilt box, at one end, is carefully preserved the Manuscript of *Catharine*, containing instructions for the new code of laws proposed by her: it is written in rather a large careless hand, partly in *Russian*, partly in *French*, and forms a thin folio. In a small chamber within, is a figure of *Peter the First*, in wax, in his habit of ceremony. He appears to have been a large tall man; his height, marked against the door, being about six feet six or seven inches. On each side of the figure are two cabinets filled with his clothes: in the first, is a blue coat lined with brown silk, and a hat with a hole made by a ball passing through it at *Pultowa*; in the other, his leather working-dress, and a pair of shoes which he had mended himself.

From this room we descended into two smaller ones, below stairs: in the first of which is a collection of fossils; and, in the other, of minerals, placed over the sides and ceilings, in the form of a grotto. Here we saw the immense piece of native iron[1] found in *Siberia* by Professor

(1) "Une masse de fer natif, pésant environ 60 myriagrammes, a été trouvée en Sibérie, près des Monts Kemir, entre Krasnoiarsk et Abakansk:

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Pallas, weighing forty *pouds*. There is also a curiously-wrought cabinet, with an *Apollo* of solid gold on the top of it. In one of the rooms, we saw the idols, utensils, and weapons which had been discovered in the *Tahtarian* sepulchres.

Academy of Fine Arts.

In our visit to the *Academy of the Fine Arts*, we were accompanied by one of the *éléves* of the first class. He informed us, that the pupils are divided into five classes: in the three lowest, Reading, Writing, German, French, and Geography, are taught; and in the other two, in which they remain six years, the arts of Engraving, Painting, and Sculpture. Those whom we saw at work were dressed in grey coats, and had a very neat appearance: the lower classes wear red. The proper number of pupils, when complete, is three hundred, each class containing sixty; and the list is now nearly full. The first room we entered was a handsome rotunda with pillars, ornamented, in the niches, with casts of statues, from the antique. We were then led into a very spacious room, eighty or ninety feet long, and thirty broad; in which, also, were

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Abakansk: elle étoit entièrement composée de fer métallique très blanc et très malléable, remplie de cavités sphériques, qui renfermoient une matière vitreuse, jaunâtre et transparente . . . . . Les Tartares regardoient ce fer comme une pierre sacrée et tombée du ciel."—*Pallas.*

"Elle contient 0,98½ de fer sur 0,01½ de nickel."—*Kalproth.*

some casts of statues, a few *Italian* paintings, and the portraits of the principal Patrons of the Society, and the most celebrated Academicians. In the centre was the portrait of the Emperor, and, on each side, his two sons. An allegorical picture, representing the late *Empress*, in the character of *Minerva*, had formerly been placed here, but was removed when *Paul* came to the throne. While he was Grand-duke, he had learned to draw at the Academy; and we were shewn the sketch of a head in chalk done by him; and some heads in wax, and drawings, by the present Princesses, very well executed. The *Italian* paintings did not appear to possess very great merit: the best among them represented *Mars and Venus entangled in the net by Vulcan;* but we could not learn the name of the artist.

We next entered a long gallery, filled with casts from them ost celebrated ancient statues; a collection very similar to one we had seen at *Stockholm*. The rooms that we afterwards saw were furnished with paintings of the different *Italian* Schools; with some which were the works of the Members of the Academy who had studied in *Italy* at the expense of the Society; and with prize-pictures of the *éléves*, previous to their quitting the Institution. There was an

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excellent cartoon by *Mengs*, from a *Holy Family* of *Raphael*. In one of the rooms was a model, in granite, of the rock which forms the pedestal of the famous statue of *Peter;* and a representation of the manner in which it was drawn to the water, rolling upon balls, in grooves. We saw many of the *élèves* at work, in painting and plaster. The building is extremely spacious, and all the rooms large and airy. We could not be admitted into the general dormitory, as it was locked; but that of the highest class, which we entered, was very neat and clean: each pupil has a separate bed, and there were four beds in each room. The building is of a square form; the front, towards the *Neva*, extremely handsome, with columns in the middle and at the two extremities; but the upper part is disfigured by a green cupola. Notwithstanding the support which is so liberally given to this Institution by the Government, few artists have hitherto risen to any great eminence. A slight degree of reflection will explain the cause of this. A taste for works of art is not yet diffused through the provinces of the empire: in *Moscow* and *Petersburg* alone are found individuals possessing great wealth, and actuated by a desire of encouraging native talent. But it is impossible that the numbers who quit the Academy can all

find sufficient employment in these capitals. It is not from want of genius that so little has been done; but the *Russian* painters, finding no motive to urge them to proceed in their profession, no stimulus to exertion, become indolent, and neglect the instructions which they have received. Many of the inferior artists are obliged to seek the means of a scanty livelihood by painting pictures[1] for the Churches.

Fortress.

We visited the *Fortress,* one of the most ancient structures of the city, built on an island of the *Neva,* according to a plan drawn by *Peter the First.* It is of brick, faced with granite. Here we saw the Church where the Sovereigns of the Empire, from the time of *Peter the Great* to the present period, are buried. The spire is graceful and lofty, being two hundred and fifty feet in height; but the inside of the church is distinguished by no peculiar architectural beauty. Nothing can be more simple, more devoid of all splendour, than the Tombs: they are of plain unornamented marble, with only an inscription containing the name of the person and the time of birth and death; a mode of burial which we

(1) Some of the artists of *France* dispose of their works in a similar manner. In visiting the public exhibition of paintings in the *Louvre,* in 1822, the writer of this note, on asking what became of the pictures of ordinary merit, of which the subjects were of a religious nature, was informed, that many were bought for the Churches.

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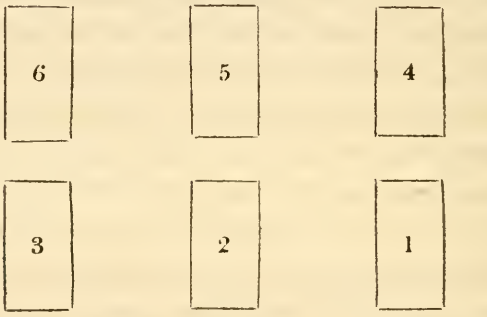
must allow to be more suited than any other to the dignity of the character of those whose bodies they contain. They were all covered with a velvet pall embroidered with silver. The *Russians* cross themselves before the tomb of *Peter the First*. *Catharine* herself lies not in in greater state than any of her predecessors, nor in a manner different from that which belongs to any private gentleman in an *English* church-yard. The Tombs are on the right side of the altar, and arranged in the following manner:

Tombs of the Imperial Family.



1. Peter I. 2. Catharine I. 3. Elizabeth.
4. Anne. 5. Peter III. 6. Catharine II.

Mint.

The *Mint*, established in part of the Fortress, is worked by steam-engines. Ten thousand *pouds* of silver, and seventy-three of gold, in ducats, had been coined this year for the Emperor's private use. A piece of mechanism,

worked by the steam-engine, counted the number which were struck.

We have, in a former Part of these Travels, had occasion to mention circumstances illustrating the thievish and pilfering propensities of some of the *Russian* nobles. When they enter a shop, they carry away things in their muffs. A party having visited the *Mint*, had the meanness to purloin two ducats; and the poor slaves were forced to make good the loss.

The view of *Petersburg*, in descending from the Fortress, is one of the grandest and the most striking that can be conceived. We beheld a great part of the city extended before us; a series of noble buildings, domes, houses, reaching to the distance of four miles; the Admiralty, its Church, the Marble and Winter Palaces, and the Hermitage.

House of *Peter the First.*

In the quarter of *St. Petersburg*, we saw the House of *Peter the First;* a small wooden building, consisting only of three rooms; one of which was about fifteen feet square; the other, fifteen by twelve; and the third, not ten feet square. These, with a little passage as an entrance, made up the whole of the house, and formed a curious contrast to the magnificent palaces of the modern city.

On recrossing the *Neva*, we arrived at the

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Statue of *Peter* I.

colossal Statue erected by *Catharine* to the memory of the Founder of the *Russian* Empire. The merit of transporting the enormous mass of granite which serves as the pedestal of it, from the forest of *Carelia* to the water-side, and thence to the city, is entirely due to Count *Carburi*. Being placed on balls of brass fifteen inches in circumference, which rolled on sledges over a causeway raised for the purpose, it was moved every day, by four hundred men, with the assistance of pulleys and a windlass, over a space of ground equal to about half a mile. From the coast, it was brought, on a raft of a peculiar construction, to the city. The original size of the rock was thirty-six feet in length, twenty in height, and as many in breadth; but in forming it for the pedestal, a great part was cut off; and it was afterwards found necessary to add two pieces. The time of its erection is recorded by a simple inscription, in bronze, placed on one side:

PETRO PRIMO
CATHARINA SECUNDA
1782.

The *Russian* Inscription, on the side facing the *Admiralty*, has the same meaning. The statue is a master-piece of art, and reflects the highest credit on the talents and genius of *Falconet*, the

sculptor. The Tsar, dressed simply, according to the national costume, is seated on horseback: his left-hand holds the reins; the right is extended in a direction towards the *Neva* and the Fortress. The head, formed after a bust made by Mademoiselle *de Collot*, is crowned with a wreath of laurel. An appearance of stiffness in the right-arm is the only defect in this admirable figure; but the statue of the horse is faultless; and nothing can exceed the fire and animation with which this noble animal is represented in the act of galloping towards the summit of the rock, and trampling on a serpent endeavouring to impede his course. The height is sixteen feet: that of the Tsar, ten feet. The model of the statue, in plaster, was exposed to public view for many years; but the statue itself was not allowed to be seen during the progress of the work. In the year 1782, when the whole was complete, the day of exhibiting it was commemorated in a striking and solemn manner. The Empress, attended by her Court, assisted at the ceremony; detachments of soldiers were drawn out, and placed round the statue; discharges of cannon were the signal for the removal of the scaffolding; medals of gold and silver were distributed on the occasion; and an

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ukase was issued, proclaiming pardon to all debtors of the Crown, under a certain sum. The rock having been diminished, and shaped according to the fancy and direction of the artist, has lost that bold and sublime appearance which it originally possessed. Cut and garnished, what, in the present state, does the whole exhibit?—a colossal figure of a man and horse, and a miniature representation of a mountain! A contradiction of this kind is absurd: it is the greatest violation of proportion that can exist. But the rock in its original state pretended to nothing: it was simply a rock, rude, and fashioned by the hand of Nature: and if it had been suffered to remain as *Catharine* certainly wished it should, untouched and unmutilated, nothing could have marked with more truth and propriety the character of the man in whose memory the work was raised, than a representation of the horse forcing its way and endeavouring to attain the summit. According to a calculation made by the Office for superintending the buildings of the city, the sum expended on the erection of this monument—including the cost of transporting the rock from its original site, the allowance to the artist who was engaged eight years in his labour, to the

person who cast the statue, and to others who assisted in the inferior departments of the work —amounted to 424,600 roubles.

Hermitage.

Proceeding, in an easterly direction, from the spot where the statue is erected, we arrive at the *Hermitage*, a large pile of building connected with the *Winter Palace*. We first passed through a small but elegant Theatre, in which some persons were rehearsing a play: it was rather dark, but the columns round the semicircular part, where the audience sate, appeared to us to be of fine marble. After passing through three rooms, two of which are filled with pictures, we entered a most beautiful Gallery, said to be an exact representation of the *Vatican*. The copies of the *Cartoons of Raphael* were well executed. From this gallery we were led into various suites of apartments almost all ornamented with pictures. Those which formed part of the *Houghton* Collection, purchased by *Catharine*, were not arranged during her lifetime: since her death, they have been hung up in the rooms of this palace; and many have been injured by the process of cleaning and varnishing, through which they have passed: some have fortunately remained untouched, and retain all their original beauty and character: among these, we may mention the *Prodigal Son*

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by *Salvator Rosa*, and the *Holy Doctors of the Church*[1], the celebrated work of *Guido*. Some pictures by *Murillo* are in one of the saloons: in another, are a few admirable pieces by the two *Wouvermanns:* the collection is also adorned by some works of *Nicolas* and *Gasper Poussin*, *Claude Lorraine*, *Teniers*, and *Rembrandt*, and a few portraits by *Vandyke*, executed in his best manner. In one of the glass cabinets we observed an *aigrette* of diamonds, presented to the late Empress by the *Grand Signior*.

Hall of *St. George.*

The *Hall of St. George*, in a part of the palace adjoining the *Hermitage*, is a very magnificent room, about one hundred and thirty feet in length, and fifty in breadth. There are eighteen fluted *Corinthian* columns of fine marble, with gilded capitals, extending the length of the Hall: and six in breadth, placed with greater intervals, between every two; pilasters on the wall correspond to them. At one end is the throne, of

(1) "In this picture, which is by Guido, in his brightest manner, and perfectly preserved, there are six old men as large as life; the expression, drawing, design, and colouring, wonderfully fine. The Doctors of the Church are consulting on the immaculateness of the Virgin, who is above in the clouds. After Sir Robert Walpole had bought this picture, and it was gone to Civita Vecchia to be shipped for England, Innocent XIII, then Pope, remanded it back, as being too fine to be suffered to go out of Rome; but on hearing who had bought it, he gave permission for its being sent away again."—*Account of the Pictures at Houghton Hall, by Horace Walpole.*

crimson velvet and gold; the back and canopy ornamented with the Imperial arms: at the other end are two groupes of sculpture, by *Falconet;* one represents "*Pygmalion* admiring his own work;" the other, "*Prometheus* communicating fire to the image which he had formed." The figure of the woman in the first groupe, and the countenace and attitude of *Pygmalion,* are particularly excellent.

Palace of *Peterhof.*

On the southern shore of the Gulf of *Cronstadt,* and at twenty-five versts distance from the capital, stands, in a lofty and commanding situation, the Imperial Palace of *Peterhof.* It was built in the reign of *Peter the First,* and has received additions from different Sovereigns; and, consequently, presents various styles of architecture. We were shewn the *Maison Hollandaise* of that Emperor, a summer-house fitted up in the *Dutch* taste; a favourite spot, as from it he could behold *Cronstadt* and his fleet. In another part of the garden is a wooden house, having externally the appearance of a cottage, but furnished inside with a number of mirrors, and in a style of great magnificence. In the palace itself were many suites of apartments; some of them richly ornamented with gold. The bed-room of the Emperor was furnished in a very handsome manner: the bed was placed under a canopy;

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and near it, on a golden stand, was the glass-case for the crown, which the Emperor always takes with him. The first room into which we entered was fitted up with a profusion of portraits of *Russian* Peasants, male and female, in their different costumes: many of them were exceedingly well executed, and represented some beautiful faces. Of the other apartments, those destined for the masquerades were the most remarkable for their size.

Palace of *Oranienbaum.*

The palace of *Oranienbaum,* distant a few versts further, had been presented by *Paul* to the Grand-duke *Alexander:* workmen were now engaged in fitting it up, for his residence; but it was not supposed that he would live much here. We were told that there was little worth seeing within. In the grounds adjoining, we were shewn a building of very elegant form, erected by *Catharine the Second:* some of the apartments were furnished with tables of beautiful work in mosaic, and good paintings in fresco. Many smaller buildings, that were formerly placed in different parts of the grounds, had been pulled down. Out of 4700 peasants attached to this place, two hundred and fifty were taken, in rotation, every week, to work about the grounds. The person who accompanied us, and who had the superintendence of

them, informed us, that they were sometimes rather idle, and required a little beating. This he did not administer himself, but, when he thought it necessary, sent them to the soldiers. The peasants pay three roubles a-year, besides this contribution in kind: they also furnish horses and carts.

State of the Peasantry.

The peasants are slaves[1]: these unfortunate people are sold, like cattle in the market; and as much art and finesse are shewn by the nobles in disposing of them, as in the sale of their horses. If they are diseased, or infamous, or stupid, their faults and vices are concealed. They are often advertised in the Gazettes: and are let out on hire, or suffered to keep shops; their masters receiving the principal part of their gains. The price of a slave varies, according to circumstances: if he is a mechanic, an artisan, if he dresses hair—in short, if he knows how to procure a little money, the price rises in proportion to his abilities. The children of slaves are also slaves. The treatment which such persons must sometimes experience in *Russia* may be well conceived. We had once,

(1) A peasant may obtain his liberty, either by manumission, as in the instance of domestics; or by purchase; or by serving in the army or navy.

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in *Petersburg*, the pain to witness, in the public streets, the punishment which a meagre effeminate coward thought proper to bestow on a man who might have crushed him with a grasp: but he was a slave! This contemptible tyrant, for no cause whatever that we could discover, was displaying his prowess, before a mob, by beating a peasant with a large bludgeon. The poor man bore the punishment without a groan or a tear, or even a word. His cowardly oppressor seemed to think he distinguished himself by the number of blows he gave; and became exasperated, because the object of his torture refused to shew, in any manner, that he felt the severity of the punishment. Unable to endure a spectacle so repugnant to the common feelings of humanity, and yet sensible of the danger of interfering in species of iniquity protected and encouraged by the laws, we ventured, with great deference, to remonstrate, and to petition for the release of the peasant. "You know little," said his chastiser to us, in *French*, "of this people: you have been so short a time in this country, that you have not learned how to manage a *Russian:* if you do not flea the skin from his body, you will never have him in any order whatever."

There are, however, many proprietors in *Russia*

whose general conduct to their peasants is directed by feelings of benevolence and kindness. The family of Prince *Sheremetof* have been remarkable, for some time, for the treatment of their slaves; many of whom are very rich, and not afraid to shew their wealth: their condition is, indeed, better than the peasants of the Crown. The Prince has 150,000; and receives, from each, five roubles a-year, as Capitation-tax. As an illustration of the wealth possessed by many of this class of men, we were informed that the late Empress, wishing to obtain a supply, proposed to make a levy of one in five hundred; which, with the population of that time, of nine millions, would amount to eighteen thousand; declaring, however, that those who would pay five hundred roubles should be exempted. The levy was made in the usual manner; and fourteen thousand, out of the eighteen thousand, paid four hundred roubles. It is customary, on the different estates, for the peasants to go as soldiers; and a family generally knows when they will have to send a son. The only exception to this takes place when either the Seigneur or the neighhood are desirous of ridding themselves of some man of bad character.

The peasants on the estates of the *Russian*

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Mode of managing the Estates of the *Russian* Nobility.

noblemen are allowed to manage the lands as they please, provided they pay the Capitation-tax. This is different in different places; as much depends on the wants of the proprietor. The higher the rank, and the greater the wealth, the happier, for the most part, are his peasants. Few of the *Russian* noblemen farm their own estates: when they do, their lands produce more; but the situation of their peasants is rendered at once miserable. This is the case in *Livonia* and *Poland*, where some of the noblemen suffer their slaves to work for themselves only on *Sunday*.

There are some estates appropriated to particular branches of the Royal Family; and the peasants attached to them are considered to be in a better condition than those belonging to individuals. There are peasants, but not many, who may be said to possess land of their own; and these are chiefly the families of noblemen reduced to poverty, who have been permitted to enter into the class of vassals, and have had lands given to them by the Crown, which they hold under a particular tenure. On every estate, whether it belongs to the Crown or to an individual, a new enumeration and a new division of lands takes place every ten or twelve years. A family that loses any male children

during the interval pays for them until the next enumeration. Forty acres is the common portion of land allotted; but the quantity depends on the size of the family, or what they are thought able to cultivate, and on the plenty or scarcity of land on the estate. The tax is like a rent; and the Seigneur in general does not trouble himself in what manner it is earned, whether by cultivating the farm, or leaving it, and working in a town: for the latter, however, permission is required. Many of the arrangements, relating to the division of the lands and internal regulations, are settled by the peasants themselves, the Elders of the village. When an estate is overpeopled, which, however, does not often happen, the peasants are sometimes transported to another place, and formed into a new colony. The brother of the Baroness *Strogonof* had an estate where the population was too great for the quantity of land; but no inconvenience arose from it, as he received a certain capitation-tax, and allowed his peasants to go and earn it where they pleased. This was the method he pursued in general; and therefore never gave himself any trouble, whether they cultivated the land that was allotted to them, or not. "*Cela m'est égal: cela me fait ni bien, ni mal!*"

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Checks to Population.

Early marriages are encouraged by the Seigneurs. The principal checks to population are, the recruiting service—the numbers lost before they join the army—the debauchery of the large villages—the custom of drinking great quantities of brandy[1]—the small-pox, and other epidemic diseases. Scarcities do not often occur, though there have been partial ones. The price of labour was between eighty copeeks and a rouble a-day. Brandy was so cheap, that a man could completely intoxicate himself for eight copeeks. The price of labour had been trebled during the last twenty or thirty years; and that of brandy had not been raised more than a third. The population of the city, according to a recent *census*, amounted to 200,000 persons, including the strangers; a calculation

(1) The result of the inquiries made relating to marriages, births, and deaths, is published occasionally by the Academicians, in their Memoirs. According to the observations of Professor *Kraft*, the mortality between the ages of twenty and twenty-five is very great. From 1764 to 1780, out of 47,538 males, and 26,899 females, there died, between the ages of fifteen and twenty, 564 males, and 670 females; but between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five, 14,752 men, and 973 women.—*Storch* states the mortality between the ages of twenty and sixty to be very great: "Neither by the bodily frame, nor the climate, is this to be explained; since both are favourable to life, as the periods till the fifteenth year sufficiently prove. Nothing, therefore, but the mode of living can account for this political calamity." He then mentions the cause, which was stated to us, among other circumstances, as affecting the population. "No other cause remains that we can accuse of this terrible effect, than brandy." p. 94.—See also *Tooke's Russian Empire, vol.* II. *p.* 156.

which places *Petersburg* after *London*, *Paris*, *Vienna*, and *Naples*. It was difficult, however, to obtain an accurate estimate; as some thousand workmen—bricklayers, masons, and labourers of various classes—come to the city in spring and summer, and quit it in autumn. Of the foreigners resident here, the *Germans* are the most numerous. The trades which contribute to luxury, ornament, and fashion, as well as those of general use, are carried on by them. Next to these, we may place the *French;* who follow, among other employments, those of cooks, hair-dressers, watch-makers, and milliners.

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PETERSBURG.

Benediction of the Waters of the Neva—*Monastery of St.* Alexander Nevsky—*Religious Festival in honour of that Saint—Tombs—Church of St.* Nicholas—*Glass-house established by* Potemkin—*nature of the works carried on there—Foundling Hospital—description of it—state of the Children—mortality which prevails amongst them—encouragement given to licentiousness by the Institution—Character, temper, and disposition of* PAUL, *before his accession to the throne—Disrespect and insult shewn by him to the memory of* CATHARINE, *on his becoming Emperor—Anecdotes illustrating his extraordinary conduct—Remarks on the character of the Empress* CATHARINE

So much has been said in other works respecting the religious rites and usages of the *Greek* Church, that little need be introduced in this place on the subject. We shall only mention those objects worthy of attention, noticed by us in the course of our visits to some of the churches; and the annual ceremony of the Benediction of the waters of the *Neva*. The last takes place on the sixth of *January* (O.S.), and was formerly celebrated, with great splendour and magnificence, on the river. At present, a small Temple, of an octagon form, made of wood, painted and adorned with crosses and pictures representing parts of the history of *John the Baptist*, is erected on the Admiralty Canal: an inclosure is formed around it, and within is a hole cut in the ice. A platform, covered with scarlet cloth, leads from the Palace to the Temple; along which the procession advances, consisting of the Archbishop, accompanied by Bishops and Dignitaries of the Church, the Imperial Family, and persons attached to the Court. Having arrived at the Temple, different prayers are recited[1]: after which, the Archbishop descends

Benediction of the waters of the *Neva*.

(1) The prayers used on this occasion are given by Dr. *King*, in his account of the *Greek* Church, p. 384.

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a ladder placed within the octagon building, and dips the cross thrice in the water; the benediction being pronounced at the same time. Some of the water is then taken up in a vessel, and sprinkled on the surrounding spectators. The military, with their standards, the religious orders in their different dresses, the presence of the Imperial Family, and the crowds of people assembled together, form a very striking scene. The last occasion on which *Peter the Great* appeared in public, was at the celebration of this ceremony. He was previously indisposed: a severe cold attacked him on the day of the Benediction of the waters, increased his disorder, and in a short time brought on his death. At the celebration of a ceremony of the same kind, which was instituted in the early period of the empire, at *Moscow*, an image of the *Holy Virgin* was plunged into the river; the water was blessed by the Patriarch; and the Tsar, and the persons of the Court who were present, were sprinkled[1] with it.

Monastery of St. *Alexander Nevsky*.

The Monastery of St. *Alexander Nevsky* is situate on the left bank of the *Neva*, at the dis-

(2) "Toute la journée on se rendait alors sur la glace: on y faisait des trous: le Patriarche bénissait l'eau pour toute l'année, y enfonçait l'image de la Sainte Vierge, et aspergeait le Tsar et les Courtisans."—*Histoire de Russie, par Levesque, tom.* IV. *Note par Depping*, p. 150.

tance of four *versts* from the Admiralty, in a south-east direction: it was built by *Peter the Great*, in order to receive the remains of one of his ancestors which were brought from the Convent of *Godoretch* in 1724. When we visited this monastery, the priests were performing the service in a small chapel, and not in the great church. After the singing, a sermon was read, in rather a fast and vulgar voice: at intervals, the people bowed and crossed themselves, some touching the ground with their foreheads. We observed, in general, that the women shewed the most, and the Monks the least devotion. The latter were dressed in black stuff or camlet, with a high cap, and a black crape veil over it. After the service, we went into the great Church; were we remarked three Monks before the Shrine of St. *Alexander*, saying a mass for a particular person who was standing near them. The prayers were read by one, in a singing tone; and the two others joined at intervals, and made responses, taking a second or tenor at a particular part of the service. The head of the devotee was covered, for some time, with the mantle of the reader, and the book placed upon it: the person then kissed the book and the hand of the priest, paid his devotions to the shrine, gave a certain number of copeeks, and retired. We observed others, afterwards, ap-

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parently negotiating for a mass at a certain price, and sometimes unsuccessfully. A gentleman with a cockade, accompanied by a servant in a silver-laced hat, seemed to be more fortunate, and had a mass said, and some water blessed for him. The latter part of the ceremony was so long, that we did not stay to see the conclusion; but were told, that he either carried the water home, or left it with the Monks, to be added to that which was already consecrated in the church. He did not appear to go through his part with much devotion; and instead of bowing his forehead to the earth, in general only touched it with his hand. He afterwards, however, knelt down once or twice, and kissed the shrine. While they were saying the masses, many people came and paid their devotions to the shrine; always putting some money, at the same time, in a little box placed there for the purpose. The shrine is very handsome: religious emblems of various kinds, candelabra, reliques from *Palestine*, and a pall adorned with gold and jewels, form part of its decorations. The silver in it is said to weigh eighty *pouds* and eight pounds; or 3208 pounds[1].

(1) We were not in *Petersburg* at the time of the year when the great Festival occurs in honour of the Saint to whom the Monastery is dedicated. The author is indebted to a friend for permission to transcribe from

We afterwards went into another church belonging to the Convent, in which were some fine

from his Journal the following account of what he observed on that occasion.

"When we reached, with some difficulty, the Church, we found that the procession of Priests had arrived before us, and the service was begun. It was read in a chanting tone, and frequently interrupted by singing. All the people bowed, and crossed themselves, for some minutes. We were near the Shrine of the Saint, which was of massive silver, and very handsome. Many waxen tapers were burning before it: some were brought by the devotees themselves, who also handed up money, which, we understood, was for the purpose of contributing to the expense of the lights. All that were able to approach the Shrine, kissed it; having made, previously, several prostrations and bows. Every body appeared very devout: I lost, notwithstanding, my pocket-handkerchief. After a short time, we met with a *Russian* Gentleman, who spoke English, and took us under his protection; and by his assistance we obtained a much better situation. Before the Communion-table were folding-doors, having open work of gold, and ornamented with circular paintings: immediately behind was a veil or curtain, which, when the Priests retired to receive the Sacrament, was drawn across the open-work, and the place was kept sacred from the eyes and observation of all. After the usual service was performed, as it was the name-day of the Grand-duke *Alexander*, the Bishops, six in number, with the Metropolitan at their head, walked to the Shrine, and prayers were offered up for all the Royal Family, and for the Grand-duke in particular. The Bible presented by the late Empress, the covers of which were of gold, and on one side most richly set with brilliants, amethysts, and other precious stones, was brought to the Shrine: the Metropolitan, having taken his mitre from his head, read from it. As he was rather infirm, the Bishop of *Casan* had performed the greatest part of the service. Six Bishops stood before the Shrine, most splendidly arrayed, their mitres covered with pearls and other ornaments: at the extremity of the line was the *Greek* Bishop, *Eugenius*, who appeared very old, and scarcely able to support himself. The Abbots who assisted in the ceremonies were dressed in robes of crimson velvet embroidered with gold. When the service was over, the Metropolitan, followed by the other Bishops, returned to the Communion-table. He was supported by two of the Abbots and a page; and, as he walked, all the people who were near, among whom were some of the principal Nobility, crowded round him, to kiss his hands. The Bishop of *Casan* received the same mark of homage; but less respect was shewn to the rest; and *Eugenius*, the

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monuments: we observed particularly those of Count *Panin*, Prince *Galitzin*, Count *Besberodko;* and a very handsome one of *Narishkin*. Over the tomb of *Besberodko*, a lamp was to be kept always burning before a small figure of *Christ;* and in an adjoining room was a rich crimson velvet and gold baldachin, under which was the body lying in state. In a room above stairs was a very good picture representing the *Baptism of the Wife of the Grand-duke Alexander*, previously to her marriage. It was the work of a slave who attended at the ceremony; and was presented to the Empress, for the Hermi-

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the most venerable of all, from his great age, had no Abbot to support him in his tottering walk, nor did any persons offer to kiss his hand. When the Bishops had left the Shrine, the people crowded round it in great numbers, to pay their devotions, and kiss it. We were happy in having an opportunity of seeing all the country-people in their best apparel; and were quite astonished at the rich dresses of some of the females, who, we were informed, were either peasants or *bourgeoises*. The head-dress was, in general, a kind of turban, with a deep gold lace round the forehead; and a very large silk handkerchief, worked with gold and silver, falling from the top of the turban, down to the waist behind, and sometimes brought round before, like a cloak. Under this was a silk vest, meeting over the breast, and reaching some way below the waist; and under that, a petticoat. Many of the vests and petticoats were of the richest silk, worked with gold and silver. The upper part of the turban, when not covered by an handkerchief, was generally of velvet, flowered with gold. These dresses reminded me very much of some representations of those worn by *Greek* women, and were certainly not like any thing we had seen in the northern parts of *Europe*. The *bourgeoises* of the city appeared generally in old-fashioned silk jackets and petticoats, with high head-dresses of silk handkerchiefs tied in the shape of turbans. All the peasants, and lower classes of citizens, wore their beards."

tage. She purchased his freedom, and gave him one thousand roubles.

The style and manner of painting adopted in the pictures with which the *Russian* churches are frequently ornamented have been described in the former part of this work. In the Church of St. *Nicholas*, called also *L'Eglise des Matelots*, are many pictures of *Christ* and the *Virgin Mary*, studded with real or false gems: the *glories* of gold have the appearance of gilded horse-shoes, and, when many of them are seen together in the same piece, produce a singular effect. The inside of the building is roofed quite low; and we were told that there was another church above. We observed the same arrangement in that of St. *Vladimir*; where the lower church is used in winter, and the upper in summer.

Church of St. *Nicholas*.

We afterwards went to the Glass-house established by Prince *Potemkin*; where plate-glass of an extraordinary size is cast. The person who superintended the business was sent by *Potemkin* to *England*, for some years, to learn the art. Having seen the different houses where the earlier parts of the process were going forwards, we were taken to that part of the building where the quicksilver is laid on, and there saw a glass supposed to be the largest that was ever made. The length was 165 inches; the

Glass-house established by Prince *Potemkin*.

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breadth, eighty nine; and intended for one of the rooms in the Winter-Palace. The breadth occasions the greatest difficulty to the workmen. The price of it was 15,000 roubles. The immense copper-plate on which it was cast was made at *Petersburg*, for 20,000 roubles. Prince *Potemkin* applied, at first, to the manufactory at *Paris*, and was asked 20,000 roubles for the work alone, without the expense of the copper. The weight is one thousand *pouds*, or 40,000 pounds. At the death of the Prince, the manufactory was taken by the Crown, but is supposed now not to pay much more than the expenses. The workmen had all a clean and comfortable appearance: they are slaves attached to the manufactory, which is the case in many other establishments: they here, however, receive pay, in proportion to the quantity of work executed. We were informed that the Crown seldom takes the labour of its peasants in kind: hired labourers are engaged in most of the public-works.

Foundling Hospital.

The *Foundling Hospital*, established by *Catharine the Second*, in the vicinity of the Convent of *Voskresenski*, but removed afterwards to the first quarter of the Admiralty, is a branch of the great institution at *Moscow*, also founded by her. The house is a handsome extensive building by

the *Moika* Canal, which had belonged to a nobleman. The rooms are large, airy, and even elegant; and are kept apparently with great neatness and cleanliness. We were first introduced to that part where the boys were dining, in number, as we were told, about 180: they were dressed in red, blue, and brown, according to their classes. They were eating meat, with which they were constantly supplied, except on fast-days. The table-cloth was clean; and each had a separate napkin: there was no disagreeable smell in the room; and the provisions appeared to be so good, that we could have sate down, and partaken of their fare with pleasure. We then walked over different rooms, in which we saw much machinery; but as it was a holiday, no one was at work. The boys are taught all kinds of trades: they learn to be tailors, to weave, to make shoes and stockings; and each trade had a separate room appropriated to it. What is not used in the house, is sold; but the profits do not go far in support of the establishment. In the magazine-rooms, there were some tolerable pieces of manufactured goods, but not much in quantity. We were next introduced to the Dormitory: the bedsteads are of iron; the beds are composed of straw paillasses, but they have no testers nor curtains: they are

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at four or five feet distance from each other; and there was a separate one for each boy. We were then conducted to the apartments appropriated to the young children, where we observed the same neatness we had remarked in the dormitory. All women who present themselves to the Lying-in-Hospital connected with this institution, for the purpose of being taken into the house and delivered, are received, and no questions are asked; but they cannot take their children away, when they quit it. An application was once made to the Empress in favour of a person of some quality, and granted. The children that are[1] brought to the door in baskets are, after three days, sent into the country, to the wives of *Ingrian* and *Finnish* peasants, at the rate of two roubles a month: they return when they are six or seven years old, and are then fit to be taught some trade. The number in the country belonging to the establishment is six or seven thousand. All the children that are brought are received, without

(1) Mr. *Forsyth* makes an ingenious and happy application of a passage in *Juvenal* to the Hospital at *Florence*, in which legitimate and illegitimate children are received. As they are admitted at night, he proposes that the following words should be written over the grate:

——"Stat Fortuna improba noctu
Arridens nudis infantibus: hos fovet omnes,
Involvitque sinu."—— *Remarks on Italy, p.* 443.

any limit. The average number admitted in the day is about ten. We were there at noon-time, and saw four who had just been received: one of them appeared to be dying. We could not learn the average number of infants in the house; but thought, from our conductor's information, that it was seven or eight hundred. We were surprised at the great mortality that takes place: one hundred deaths in a month form the common average of the whole house; and in the preceding winter, there occurred, not unfrequently, eighteen in a day. The mortality chiefly occurs, it may be supposed, among very young children; some of whom are brought when they are actually dying: but there is a considerable number of deaths among those who are older.

Having quitted these apartments, we went over those allotted to the girls. The dormitories and work-rooms were kept in the same neat manner. There are five classes: the two highest make lace, and embroider very well: we saw a saddle-cloth of yellow velvet most richly embroidered in silver, which was to be presented to the Emperor on his birth-day. The Empress interested herself particularly in the institution; and, when she was in the city, seldom passed a week without coming twice or

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thrice, and looking into all the details of the management of it. We were told that the expenses of the establishment amounted to 100,000 roubles a month. The regular revenues belonging to it are not in any degree equal to that sum; but the Government takes upon itself the direction of the whole, and consequently bears the additional expenses.

The common hours of working are from six to twelve, and from two to four. There was a large garden, for the girls to walk in; and a separate piece of ground for the boys, where they went after dinner to play, as it was a *fête:* the girls amused themselves with sewing and embroidery. Notwithstanding the advantages possessed by the place, and the cleanliness that appeared to prevail in general, the children had not a healthy appearance; and we were quite surprised at the very small number of good-looking boys and girls which we saw. The greater part were absolutely ugly; and all had sore eyes. This complaint arises, probably, from the strong light and white walls, added to the offensive heat of the rooms and the reflexion from the snow: it originally begins in the smoky cottages where the children are sent to be nursed. One of the governesses complained to us of the frequency of holidays, as a great

interruption to the employments of the children. The girls leave the house at the age of eighteen, and the boys at that of twenty or twenty-one. Sometimes those children who were sent into the country did not return: this depended on the room there was in the house, and on the will of the Empress. There is a large hall, with a railing, where the parents come and see their children; to whom they affix a mark when they deliver them; giving, at the same time, a note, stating whether the child has been baptized or not, and what is, or what should be, the name. Parents, in proving themselves able to support their children, and, we believe, on paying the past expenses, may demand them, and take them away, if they have not been born in the house. They may always find the children, by asking for the particular number received on placing them in the institution.

The greatest praise has been bestowed by some Writers on the institution of the Foundling Hospitals of *Petersburg* and *Moscow*. "The genius of *Catharine* made even the vices of a portion of her subjects contribute to the wisdom of her views. Those unfortunate children, whom their fathers disowned—whom their mothers did not dare to acknowledge—were abandoned to public compassion, and often to

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death. Equally rejected by nature and by the law, they have been adopted by the Sovereign. No establishment of the kind can be compared with the Hospital at *Moscow*. All who present themselves there, or are brought from the different *depôts* of the empire, are received. Their first years are watched with the utmost attention; and this, if possible, is increased in the superintendence of their education. They are instructed, according to their inclinations or natural dispositions, in different trades and different arts. When the term of their education has expired, they receive the greatest of all blessings—liberty. Restored to their country, they are dependent only on the laws; and in consecrating to their country the talents which she has bestowed upon them, they give back even more than they have received." Such is the eulogy pronounced on these institutions by one of the historians[1] of the *Russian* empire: nor can it be denied that many useful and industrious citizens have been formed in them. It may however be questioned, whether they really increase the population of the empire to the extent which some have supposed. No doubt can be entertained as to the encourage-

(1) Histoire de *Russie*, par *Levesque*, tome VI. p. 55.

ment of immorality and licentiousness which they afford; since to have an illegitimate child, is considered as the least fault which a female-servant can commit[2].

Anecdotes of the Emperor *Paul.*

The conduct of the Emperor was, at this time, the chief subject of conversation at all the tables to which we were invited during our stay at *Petersburg;* both in the houses of strangers, and of the *Russians* themselves. We had not, indeed, been long in the city, before we heard, from undoubted authority, numerous examples, many of which were confirmed by our own observation, of the folly and inconsistency, cruelty and obstinacy, caprice and idiotism, not to say insanity, of *Paul.* Before his accession to the throne, he had frequently displayed great eccentricity and absurdity in his conduct. A *mania* for every thing military particularly possessed him: he would harass the soldiers of his regiment with the most vexatious discipline, the most minute and frivolous attention to every part of their dress, even to the shouldering of a musket, and to the buttoning of a coat. He once shut his wife up in a fortified place; and ordered a mock-battle to be fought,

(2) A female servant belonging to a mistress of rather strict character sent six children to the Foundling Hospital, without losing her place. Her *accouchement,* we were informed, seldom obliged her to absent herself more than three days.

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pretending to take on himself the defence of it against the attack of the supposed enemy. Nothing offended him more than the refusal of *Catharine* to allow him to command the *Russian* army, in the campaign against the *Porte* in 1787. In visiting different parts of the Continent in 1781, in company with the Grand-duchess, he was everywhere received with the greatest attention and honour; but nothing could remove the gravity, silence, and reserve of his manner. He frequently shewed great distrust and suspicion of those around him: this was particularly observable during an illness with which he was attacked in *Italy*. His conduct on that occasion has been explained, by the circumstance of his being impressed with a notion that *Catharine* wished to make an attempt upon his life. On becoming Emperor, he was at liberty to indulge, to any excess, and in any manner he pleased, his military folly[1]. Every morning was devoted to reviews, to the parade, and to the practice of various manœuvres. As *Frederick*

(1) He ordered some models of tails to be made, which he intended should be worn by the officers and soldiers; and despatched them to different corps of the army. *Souwaroff*, on receiving a packet of these tails, shook his head, and exclaimed, "These tails are not bayonets; and no fire will come from this powder." A translation cannot give the spirit of the original, which has a rhythm, and metrical cadence, often used by *Souwaroff* in his conversation. "Kaçoi nè kalot, bouklai nè palit, poudrei nè streliat."—M. *Depping* quotes this, from an historical memoir relating to *Souwaroff*.

the Great was the principal object of his admiration, he ordered the national dress of the *Russians* to be exchanged for the *Prussian* uniform. He soon began to shew disrespect and aversion to the memory of his mother. The plans she had formed were altered; the ministers, whom she had selected for their talents, were disgraced; the buildings she had commenced were completed in any manner but that which accorded with her ideas. The Church of *St. Isaac* had been raised to a considerable height: marble, jasper, porphyry, and granite, were the materials employed in the construction of it: *Paul* finished it with *brick*. The Taurida Palace was converted by him into barracks. *Peter the Third*, his father, had ben buried in the Church of *St. Alexander Nevsky: Paul* ordered the body to be removed, and deposited in that of the Fortress, where all his ancestors are entombed. The assassins of *Peter* were dead, with the exception of two—*Orlof* and *Boriatinsky:* they were commanded to be present at the ceremony, to attend the body as chief-mourners, and to remain near it for the space of three weeks. This act of *Paul* was viewed in different lights: by some he was considered as influenced by motives of respect and affection to the memory of his father; by others, the whole transaction was

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considered as a censure and reproach of the conduct of his mother.

At the time of our residence in *Petersburg*, the chief favourite of *Paul* was *Koutizof*[1], originally a *Greek* slave, and latterly his *valet de chambre*. This man had a mistress, Madame *Chevalier*, the wife of a hair-dresser, and principal actress at the French Theatre. Her uncommon beauty had

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(1) Since the period when Dr. CLARKE's Manuscript Journals were written, an edition of *Levesque's History of Russia* has been published, with Notes by MM. *Malte-Brun* and *Depping*. The latter had added an account of the reign of PAUL; and has related in it many anecdotes, marking in a striking manner the absurdity and folly of his conduct, precisely of a similar nature to those which Dr. CLARKE has already noted in his Journal. This coincidence confirms the accuracy of the statements both of the *English* Traveller and the *French* Historian.

M. *Depping* says, that *Koutizof* was originally a *Turk*: but the passage is suffered to stand in the text, as it occurs in Dr. CLARKE's manuscript. M. *Depping* gives an anecdote very characteristic of *Souwarof*, which illustrates at the same time the history of the rise of *Koutizof*. "From *valet de chambre*, he became the confidant and minister of *Paul*; and although he was detested by the nobles, they all sought his favour. *Souwarof* alone, more accustomed to the language of camps than to that of Courts, refused to bend the knee before the second master of the empire; and humbled him, on one occasion, in the most marked manner. On his return from exile, *Paul* sent his favourite to him. 'Count *Koutizof*' was announced. '*Koutizof!*' cried the General: 'I do not know any *Russian* family of that name.' The Count answered, that he was from *Turkey*, and that the favour of the Emperor had raised him to his present dignity.—'You have then doubtless distinguished yourself in arms?' 'I have never served.'—'Or in the ministry?' 'I have never been in any civil office. I have always been about the person of the Emperor.'—'In what capacity?'—*Koutizof* wished to turn the conversation; but *Souwarof* mercilessly pursued him with questions; until he confessed he had been *valet de chambre*. *Souwarof*, on this, turning to his servant, said: 'You see, Ivan, what it is to conduct yourself well. This gentleman *was, once*, what you *are*: behold him Count now, with the blue ribband!' "

subdued *Koutizof;* and, as he governed *Paul,* Madame *Chevalier*'s influence was unbounded. Whoever became the object of her hatred, or that of the favourite, was immediately sent into exile. Within a few days after our arrival, not less than one hundred and fifty persons were banished, and not one under the smallest pretence of justice. We found, in consequence of the tyranny and caprice of the Emperor, that many noblemen were leaving the city, and retiring to *Moscow.* As *Paul* had a particular aversion to all strangers, every one who shewed them any kindness, or treated them with hospitality, became immediately offensive to him.

The Emperor rose every morning at five: *Koutizof,* whose apartments were under his, saw him first: the report of the head-officer of the Police was received shortly afterwards. *Paul*'s chief vanity was, to shew his insensibility to cold: for this purpose, he drove about in an open sledge, or rode on horseback without a pelisse, parading before his soldiers, and through the streets, with his hat off, for twenty minutes together. When he passed, every person must stop, and stand bare-headed; every one descended from his carriage, however thinly he might be clothed, and whatever might be the state of the weather. Ladies, old women, infirm

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and sickly persons, were obliged to suffer these indignities. The same marks of respect were shewn to every part of the Royal Family, even to the Infants; but when the Grand-duke *Alexander* passed, he always hurried by, and waved his hand, to prevent this painful homage. His amiable character and condescension rendered him the idol of the people; and he was as much loved, as *Paul* was detested.

We passed an evening at the hospitable and elegant mansion of Baron *Strogonof;* who informed us, that his coachman, one morning, when the Emperor was riding through the streets, did not stop the horses so quickly as he ought to have done: on this, the attendant officer went up, demanded who was in the carriage, and took down the name of the servants. Fortunately, the Baron was going to his uncle, a favourite of the Emperor, and no more notice was taken of the matter; but he told us he passed a day of painful anxiety. The slightest punishment inflicted for neglecting to take off immediately your hat, great coat, cloak, gloves, or pelisse, as the Emperor passed by, or for not descending instantly from your carriage, in the snow, mud, or rain, was, that the servants were bound and sent to the army, the horses to the artillery, the carriage confiscated, and the master ordered

into confinement. The attention of the police was directed to things of the most insignificant kind: if a man had his hair short on the top of his head, if it fell over his forehead, if he had any below his temples or on his cheeks, a soldier was sent to shave him, or cut his hair, according to the whim or taste of the police-officer. As every thing was regulated by the caprice and insolence of this class of persons, it was impossible in any way to escape their notice and interference. Friends met with suspicious and fearful looks, asking for news, or mentioning the misfortunes which had happened to their relatives, who had been exiled[1] or ruined by the Emperor and his minion. While we were at Baron *Strogonof*'s, a Princess came to take leave of her friends:—she was ordered to leave *Petersburg* by four o'clock in the morning.

An Englishman, accustomed from his infancy to the blessings of a free constitution, is in the

(1) La colère de Paul frappait indistinctement toutes les classes de la société—les courtisans, les gens de lettres, les militaires, les marchands, les femmes, tous encouraient la peine de l'exil, ou du *knout*, pour des fautes légères . . . . . Les exils et les arrestations continuaient toujours : on voyait sur les routes de nombreux *kibitkas*, qui transportaient les prisonniers en Sibérie. Ces transports se faisaient avec la plus grande précipitation ; on ne laissait souvent à l'exilé qu'une heure pour arranger ses affaires ; et puis on l'envoyait sous le climat rigoureux de la Sibérie, sans lui accorder les moyens de se prémunir contre la regueur du froid."

Depping.—Histoire de Russie, par Levesque. Tome VI. p. 114.

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practice of declaring his sentiments openly and loudly. In *Petersburg*, if he opened his mouth, though for the sake of asking a question of the most indifferent kind, his *Russian* friend trembled while he was addressed.—"What architect designed that palace?" "Speak lower, for God's sake!"—"What! is it prohibited to ask questions relating to architecture?" "Every thing is prohibited."—"Is it prohibited to speak, to breathe, to exist?" "It is dangerous to speak at all: whatever you say, may be misinterpreted; and, surrounded as you are, the less consciousness you afford even of your respiration or existence, the better."—This is a real statement of a conversation which took place. It was an offence to be loud in talking, laughing, or singing. Peace and comfort, innocent mirth, and domestic happiness, were constantly interrupted; and the effect of a baneful and malignant tyranny was everywhere experienced,—*adempto per inquisitiones, et loquendi audiendique commercio.*

The Emperor ordered a person to be flogged by the soldiers, because he wore his cravat a little too near his chin, and had not placed the cock of his hat straight over his forehead. The punishment was inflicted with severity. On one occasion he had the audacity to cane an officer: the unfortunate victim of his cowardice retired

to his house, and shot himself, leaving a note for the Emperor, containing these words: "He who has the courage to lose his own life for an insult, might take away the life of him who caused it. Let this be a warning to you." His conduct towards strangers was as extraordinary as that which he displayed towards his own subjects.

The *German* ambassador, Count *Cobentzel*, applied for a passport to send a courier to his Court. The Emperor gave for answer, that he could have nothing to say to his Court, and that he should have none. *Paul* had been induced to join the Coalition against *France:* he repented of the measure, and shewed his aversion to it, by ill-treating the Representatives of the Courts of *England* and *Austria*, and by ordering many *French* emigrants to quit his dominions. He had, however, a great horror of Revolutionary principles. Two servants, who had been discharged by two *English* gentlemen, laid an information against their masters, of being *Jacobins:* these gentlemen were obliged, in consequence, to leave *Russia;* and would have experienced harsher treatment, if Lord *Whitworth* had not discovered the plot, and the falsehood of the charge, and made himself responsible for their conduct.

It is well known, that, among other instances

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of folly, he ordered, by a special *Ukase*, many of the buildings in the empire to be painted in a particular manner, according to his directions. A lady, whom he admired, appeared one evening at a ball with a pair of gloves of a red colour: the next morning, his palace was painted red. The absurdities, of which he was guilty every day, almost exceed belief. Some excellent paintings in the palace had been removed, by his orders, for the purpose of being varnished; and a few common sea-pieces, executed in the very worst manner, were hung, in the mean time, in room of them, to cover the wall: he noticed one, as he passed through the apartments, declared it to be the finest thing he had ever seen in his life, and angrily asked why such excellent paintings were placed so high, and out of sight. Presently, twenty soldiers entered with ladders, to take down the picture, that he might have it near him while he was at dinner, though it hung in the adjoining room.

In the course of his morning-ride, he observed, at a little distance, a person in a sledge, who did not take off his pelisse. When he reached the palace, he said to an officer, "In such a street I saw a man who did not take off his pelisse; it was green, with dark fur: go, find out who he is." The officer was in utter despair of

ever being able to execute such a mad commission; but, from the situation of the street, he suspected that the person might, perhaps, be an Englishman. Hastening, therefore, to the *English* Club, where the merchants were at dinner, he examined all the pelisses; and having found one which corresponded with the description given by the Emperor, he inquired to whom it belonged: the waiter mentioned the name of the owner, and the police-officer desired that he might be called out of the room.—"Is this pelisse yours?" "Yes."—The officer departed, leaving the Englishman in doubt as to what steps he should take. His friends advised him to go home; but when he left the room, the pelisse was not to be found: it had been taken to the Emperor, who, when he saw it, embraced the officer in a transport of joy, at the same time declaring his surprise that he returned with it so soon.—The pelisse was sent back to the owner, in about an hour's time.

The truth of the following fact can be attested by the whole city of *Petersburg*.—A carriage, as the Emperor was passing through the streets, was observed not to stop quite so soon as was thought proper; nor did any one

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descend when it stopped. The officers rode up, took the name of the owner, and again followed *Paul*. About noon, the lady, to whom it belonged, was informed that one of the police-officers desired to see her. The visits of these persons occasioned as much horror and alarm at *Petersburg*, as those of the agents of *Robespierre* produced at *Paris*. The lady, much distressed, was no sooner informed of the cause of his coming, than she burst into tears, clasping her hands together, and protesting that she had not been out of the house for three days. She ordered inquiry to be made, in order to know who had been in the carriage: and was informed, that the person was a poor miserable cripple, deformed, an ideot from his birth, deprived of the use of his limbs, maintained in the family from charity, and allowed, by his humane protectress, the use of the carriage, for air, when the weather was fine. Will it be believed, that this wretched object was dragged before the Governor; who, when he saw him, shuddered with horror! "I have orders," he said, "to feed you upon bread and water: but I will add a little *butter* to the one, and a little *tea* to the other; and, in the mean time, go to the Emperor." *Paul*, whether from a feeling of compassion not very common to him, or from

not wishing to trouble himself any further in the business, ordered the ideot to be taken back to the house of the lady. But the carriage and servants were gone;—the former was seized by the Government; the latter were sent to the army.

The melancholy effects of his short reign were perceptible in every thing. Science, art, and literature, withered under the blighting influence of his tyranny. Books of almost every description were prohibited. *French* works of the most costly and expensive kind, if they shewed, by their title-page, that they had been printed during the time of the Republic, were not allowed to be sold. We took up, in a bookseller's shop, a beautiful copy of *Buffon*'s Natural History, and the marks of the police were visible in the title-page of every volume. Foreign Journals were reprinted with the alterations which the Government thought proper to introduce. Censors were appointed to superintend every publication, to open and read letters, to suppress and destroy whatever they did not approve or could not comprehend. In the scrutiny which took place, amidst this darkness of intellect and ignorance, we have no reason to wonder at the ludicrous and

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contemptible blunders that were daily committed[1].

The character and conduct of *Paul* are sufficiently illustrated by the statements we have given: and more, if it were necessary, might be added, to mark his imbecility and ideotcy. The strong feeling of hatred which he bore to the memory of *Catharine* led him to counteract and defeat, in every possible manner, the plans which she had formed for the improvement of the empire. The private and public life of this extraordinary woman formed the subject of conversation one evening, when we were present, at the house of Baroness *Strogonof*, who had been one of her Ladies of the Bedchamber: she related to us many anecdotes respecting her; speaking the whole time as one of her enthusiastic admirers, though discriminating parts of her conduct with penetration and shrewdness of remark. Certainly many traits, which were mentioned, shewed a great strength of intellect, and often a feeling heart. She had a power and command over herself, which enabled her to retire when in anger, and never to give a deci-

Remarks on the character of the Empress *Catharine*.

(1) M. *Depping* gives the following instance.—The censors had no list of prohibited books: they, therefore, adopted the *Index* in use at *Vienna*. In this, there was a prohibition of books relating to the *Greek* Church: the same were also rejected by the *Russian* censors!

sion until her mind was calm and tranquil: she had the talent of rendering every one at ease, when in her presence; and her clemency was shewn on various occasions. When the name of a person who was convicted of high-treason, of even plotting against her, was given in for condemnation, she would frequently desire inquiry to be made, if he had not some cause of vexation; if his mind had not been irritated by some fancied injury or neglect:—at last, the astonished culprit was presented with a sum of money, and ordered to retire to a distant province. Impressed, at first, with a favourable feeling occasioned by the enumeration of many good qualities which were attributed to her, we were disposed to join the list of her panegyrists: but it is impossible, on reflection, to admit any apology for the crimes which tarnish all her glories, if they do not entirely obscure them. It will readily be allowed, that her reign has been marked by great events, and that her measures were often directed by sound wisdom and policy. Her apparent virtues also relieve the attention from the horrors and dark shades of infamy, with which they are surrounded; but the mind soon turns from the contemplation of them, with suspicion and distrust: they seem to be more the result of an artful policy, than

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the offspring of beneficence:—so difficult is it to conceive, that a woman engaged during one part of her life in murder, and the other in lust and ambition, could be capable of any thing lovely or of good report—any thing noble or amiable—any thing which could adorn or dignify the human mind!

Deposition and murder of *Peter the Third.*

Whenever the circumstances attending the death of PETER THE THIRD are introduced, they are always accompanied with the assertions, that *Catharine*, by the murder of her husband, averted a similar fate, which would have speedily overtaken her. This plausible tale, easily related, as easily prevailed. The multitude, who seldom trouble themselves to reflect, when they find others ready to think for them, are hardly yet awakened from their delusion. It is wonderful that a representation so totally groundless should have met with such implicit belief! What reason have we for supposing that *Peter* intended the murder or the imprisonment of his wife? He built, it is said, a set of apartments in the Fortress of *Schlussenburg*; they were erected with unusual expedition; he himself superintended the work—insinuations, which really prove nothing. As persons have not been wanting to defend the conduct of *Catharine* throughout the whole course of the events which

occurred in the Revolution of 1762, it is proper to advert to what has been urged by those who have advocated the cause of *Peter*. They state, that he was acquainted with the plans she had formed, in conjunction with her favourite *Orlof*, for taking possession of the reins of government — that when the consequences of her licentious conduct and intimacy with that officer were too evident, *Peter* proposed to punish her in some public manner—that, to avoid this disgrace, *Catharine* completed and hastened the conspiracy which ended in his dethronement and murder. That the indolence, and want of resolution, and pusillanimity of *Peter* contributed to his own ruin, cannot be doubted: there was a period, during the revolt, when the soldiers expressed their regret at having been so easily persuaded, by *Orlof* and *Razoumofsky* and others, to abjure their allegiance to him, and would have marched, under his command, against the rebels. The circumstances connected with the seizure and imprisonment of *Peter* at *Robscha* have been variously related. *Ismaelof*, whom he sent to express his readiness to enter into negotiation with the Empress, is supposed to have betrayed him to *Orlof*. He was then conveyed to *Robscha*. But even after his confinement, the soldiers did not cease to express their disapprobation of

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what had taken place; and a strong feeling of commiseration for their deposed monarch was excited among various classes of the people. The conspirators found that their only security was in his death. The rest of the history of *Peter the Third* is well known. An unsuccessful attempt was made to administer poison to him: as this failed, he was, after a violent resistance, strangled, by *Alexis Orlof*, *Boriatinsky* who was the officer on guard, and an obscure individual of the name of *Tépelhof*[1]. His body was publickly exposed, habited in the *Holstein* uniform; the collar of the dress being so arranged

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(1) The account in the text is confirmed by a remarkable extract from Mr. Gibbon's *Common-Place Book*, given in Lord Sheffield's late edition of the *Miscellaneous Works* of that writer; which may be properly inserted in this place.

"Peter III. was poisoned in a glass of brandy. On his refusing a "second glass, he was forcibly thrown down, and strangled with a hand-"kerchief, by *Orlof*, *Tépelhof*, *Potemkin*, and the youngest of the Princes "*Boriatinski*. When the body was exposed, the marks of violence on the "neck, &c. were evident. *Orlof* instantly returned to *Petersburg*, and "appeared at the *Empress*'s dinner, in the disorder of a murderer. She "caught his eye, rose from the table, called him into her closet; sent for "Count *Panin*, to whom she imparted the news; and returned to dinner "with her usual ease and cheerfulness.

"These particulars (Mr. Gibbon says) are taken from a *History of the* "*Revolution in* 1762, composed by M. *Rulhière*, a *French* Officer, who "was an attentive spectator, and who afterwards conversed with the prin-"cipal actors. Prudence prevents him from publishing: but he reads his "Narrative to large companies; and I have already heard it twice."

Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works*, *Vol.* V. *p.* 528. 1814.

as to conceal the mode of his death, which, however, was very visible in the features of the face. The following night he was buried in the church of the Monastery of St. *Alexander Nevsky* .

[*For a Continuation of the Author's Narrative, of his departure from* PETERSBURG *to* MOSCOW, *of his interesting description of the latter city, and his journey to the* SOUTHERN PROVINCES *of the* RUSSIAN EMPIRE, *&c. &c. the Reader is referred to the* First Volume *of these* Travels.]

APPENDIX.

No. I.

AMŒNITATES ACADEMIÆ ABOENSIS.

I COLLECTED, by favour of Professor PORTHAN, Seventy of the ACADEMIC DISPUTATIONS of ÅBO. And, as a Catalogue of their subjects, with their respective dates, will afford a tolerable idea of the line of study pursued in that University, and of the time in which any particular study was the most favoured, sixty-one of them are here added.

It will appear, that under the Presidency of PORTHAN the most interesting topics were discussed.

They form a complete History of Science in Åbo, for the last twenty years of the eighteenth century.

1782. Dissertatio Botanica, de Calla.—Præside, C. N. HELLENIO.—J. F. SACKLEN, *Satacundensis*.

1785. Dissertatio Mathematica, de Quadratura Parabolæ.—Præs. J. H. LINDQUIST.—J. J. LAGERSTRÖM, *Satacundensis*.

1785. Dissertatio Astronomica, Methodum sistens inveniendi Tempus Verum, ex observatis æqualibus diversarum Stellarum Altitudinibus.—Præs. J. H. LINDQUIST.—A. J. TAMMELANDER, *Tavastensis*.

1786. Specimen Academicum, de invenienda Sectione Conica circa focum datum per data tria puncta transeunte.—Præs. J. H. Lindquist.—J. Wegelius, *Ostro-Botniensis.*

1786. Dissertatio Gradualis, Observationes quasdam circa Reductionem Angulorum ad Horizontem continens.—Præs. J. H. Lindquist.—J. Rikström.

1786. Dissertatio Astronomica, de Parallaxi Annua Planetarum Primariorum ac Cometarum.—Præs. J. H. Lindquist.—S. Castren, *Ostro-Botniensis.*

1786. Diss. Botanica, de Evonymo.—Præs. C. N. Hellenio.—C. Ascholin, *Satacundensis.*

1786. Diss. Botanica, de Hippuride.—Præs. C. N. Hellenio.—C. R. Brander, *Satacundensis.*

1786. Specimen Calendarii Floræ et Faunæ Aboënsis.—Præs. C. N. Hellenio.—J. G. Justander.

1786. Dissertatio, de Origine Literarum Latinarum.—Præs. H. G. Porthan.—G. J. Cajander, *Nylandus.*

1786. Dissertatio Academica, de Bircarlis.—Præs. H. G. Porthan.—F. M. Frantzen, *Ostro-Botniensis.*

1787. Prospectus Methodi Rem Pecuariam scientificè pertractandi.—Præs. G. Bonsdorff.—A Boxström, *Nylandus.*

1788. Animadversiones in novam Nomenclaturæ Chemicæ Methodum.—Publico Examini subjicit J. Gadolin.——Respondente, N. Avellan, *Tavastensis.*

1788. Diss. Academica, de Asparago.—Præs. C. N. Hellenius.—U. Pryss.

1788. Diss. Acad. de Observationibus Barometricis ope Thermometri corrigendis.—Præs. J. H. Lindquist.—J. Wegelius, *Ostro-Botniensis.*

1789. Meletema Academicum, de Favorino, Philosopho Academico.—Præs. H. G. PORTHAN.—Z. FORSMAN, *Ostro-Botniensis.*

1789. Diss. Astronomica, de invenienda apparente Lunæ Diametro ex data ejus Parallaxi.—Præs. J. H. LINDQUIST.—A. SANDER, *Borea-Fenno.*

1789. Diss. Academica, de Interpolatione pro inveniendo loco Lunæ ex Ephemeridibus.—Præs. J. H. LINDQUIST.—J. ÆJMELÆUS.

1789. Diss. Academica, sistens Theoriam Linearum Parallelarum.—Præs. J. H. LINDQUIST.—E. ROSENBACK, *Satacundensis.*

1789. Diss. Botanica, de Tropæolo.—Præs. C. N. HELLENIO.—A. F. LAURELL, *Wiburgensis.*

1789. Diss. Acad. de Fama Magiæ Fennis attributa.—Præs. H. G. PORTHAN.—F. J. ROSENBOM, *Ostro-Botniensis.*

1789. Diss. Acad. de Hippophaë.—Præs. C. N. HELLENIO.—P. STENBERG, *Westro-Botniensis.*

1791. Animadversiones de Libris raris.—Præs. H. G. PORTHAN.—P. J. ALOPÆUS, *Wiburgensis.*

1791. De vario Usu Litteraturæ Orientalis.—Præs. P. MALMSTRÖM.—G. KROGIUS, *Wiburgensis.*

1792. Diss. Acad. sistens Specimina quædam instinctus, quo Animalia suæ prospiciunt Soboli.—Præs. C. N. HELLENIO.—F. JUVELIUS, *Ostro-Botniensis.*

1792. Diss. Botanica, de Cichorio.—Præs. C. N. HELLENIO.—H. NELLY, *Svio-Gothus.*

1792. Diss. Academica, de Imperio Hermanrici Ostro-Gothorum Regis.—Præs. H. G. PORTHAN.—C. REIN, *Ostro-Botniensis.*

1792. Cogitationes de Poëmate Prosaïco.—Præs. H. G. PORTHAN.—A. KELLANDER. *Satacundensis.*

1792. Diss. Astronomica, de computando Effectu Aberrationis Luminis in Eclipsibus.—Præs. J. H. Lindquist.—M. J. Tolpo, *Borea-Fenno.*

1792. Diss. Astronom. de Methodo inveniendi Latitudinem Loci ex observatis duabus Solis vel Stellæ cujusdam Altitudinibus.—Præs. J. H. Lindquist. —A. J. Methier, *Tavastensis.*

1792. Diss. Gradualis, de Loxodromiis in Superficie Ellipsoidica.—Præs. J. H. Lindquist.—N. M. Tolpo, *Borea-Fenno.*

1793. Diss. Acad. de invenienda Longitudine Loci ex observata Distantia Lunæ a Stella quadam.—Præs. J. H. Lindquist—M. Avellan.

1794. Diss. Medica, sistens Casum Hæmorrhoïdum suppressarum.—Præs. G. E. Haartman.—S. Björklund.

1794. Diss. Acad. Cogitationes sistens de Libertate Græcis callidè a Romanis oblata.—Præs. H. G. Porthan.—M. Enegren, *Ostro-Botniensis.*

1794. Diss. Acad. Animadversiones sistens de Studio novitatis in Philosophia.—Præs. H. G. Porthan. —S. Bohm, *Ostro-Botniensis.*

1794. Diss. Acad. de Imperio Hermanrici Ostro-Gothorum Regis.—Præs. H. G. Porthan.—E. Hildeen, *Borea-Fenno.*

1795. Diss. Acad. sistens Cogitationes quasdam de Linguarum Usu Historico.—Præs. H. G. Porthan. —J. H. Avellan, *Tavastensis.*

1795. Diss. Acad. de Libertate Philosophandi.—Præs. H. G. Porthan.—P. Wallenius, *Wiburgensis.*

1795. Diss. Acad. sistens Cogitationes quasdam de Pandora Hesiodea.—Præs. H. G. Porthan.—J. H. Fattenborg, *Nylandus.*

1795. Diss. Acad. de Theoria Solutionis Chemicæ.—Præs. J. GADOLIN.—M. HARFVELIN, *Aboensis.*

1795. De Natura Salium Simplicium.—Præs. J. GADOLIN.—J. G. HAARTMAN.

1795. De computando Effectu Convexitatis Superficiei in Arte Libellandi, posita Figura Telluris Ellipsoidica.—Præs. J. H. LINDQUIST.—C. G. UTTER, *Satacundensis.*

1796. De Invenienda Parallaxi Altitudinis, ex datis Parallaxi Sideris Horizontali, et vera ejus a Zenith Distantia.—Præs. J. H. LINDQUIST.—T. T. KRIANDER, *Satacundensis.*

1797. De corrigendis Erroribus Instrumenti Culminatorii.—Præs. J. H. LINDQUIST.—G. LAURELL.

1797. De Declinatione Nominum in primis Fennicorum. —E. HILDEEN et G. LAURELL.

1797 Animadversiones nonnullæ circa Quæstionem, "Quid Moses de Diis Gentium senserit?"—Præs. G. GADOLIN.—J. AVELLAN, *Tavastensis.*

1797. Dissertatio Inauguralis Medica, sistens Toxicologiæ primas Lineas.—Præs. G. E. HAARTMAN. B. HOLMUDD, *Uleaburg.*

1797. De Tussilagine Commentarii Botanici.—J. G. HAARTMAN, et A. J. ORRSTRÖM, *Aboensis.*

1797. De Speciebus Solutionis Chemicæ.—Præs. J. GADOLIN.—M. SYLVEX, *Satacundensis.*

1798. Examen Methodi Æquationes Algebraicas resolvendi; a C. L. Bendavid, nuper propositæ.—Præs. J. H. LINDQUIST.—J. F. AHLSTEDT, *Satacundensis.*

1798. De Natura Carbonis Vegetabilis.—Præs. J. GADOLIN.—T. T. KRIANDER, *Satacunda-Fenno.*

1798. De Silica ex Solutione Alkalina per Calcem præcipitata.—Præs. J. Gadolin.—J. Holstius, *Ostro-Botniensis.*

1798. De Variationibus Avium quoad ipsarum Colorem.—Præs. C. N. Hellenio.—A. Cajan, *Ostro-Botniensis.*

1798. De Philosophia Populari complexa.—Præs. H. G. Porthan.—G. Palander, *Tavastensis.*

1798. De Pancratio Gymnici apud Veteres Græcos Ludi Genere.—Præs. G. Gadolin.—G. Domander, *Tavastensis.*

1798. De Dignitate Jarlorum in Suecia.—Præs. H. G. Porthan.—E. J. Frostenes, *Ostro-Botniensis.*

1798. Specimen Descriptionis Organicæ Linearum Curvarum.—Auctor, G. G. Hallström; et Respondens, C. H. Stranberg, *Nylandus.*

1798. Specimina quædam Geometriæ Curvilineæ.—Præs. A. J. Mether, et N. J. Berghæll, *Tavastensis.*

1799. De Methodo Superficies Solidorum duplici Integratione investigandi.—Auctor, G. Palander; et Respondens, C. Aström, *Tavastensis.*

1799. De Fide Revelationi Divinæ habenda.—Præs. J. Tengström.—E. J. Frosterus, *Ostro-Botniensis.*

1799. De inveniendis Lineis Curvis ex datis Radii Curvaturæ Proprietatibus, Problemata.—Auctore, G. G. Hallström; et Respondente, C. H. Hollberg, *Borea-Fenno.*

In the year 1766, Professor Porthan, then Student in the University, produced his learned Dissertation *De Poesi Fennica;* one of the most erudite and interesting Essays that have appeared among the Academic Dissertations of Åbo.

No. II.

INDEX PRÆLECTIONUM,

QUAS, BONO CUM DEO,

IN REGIA ACADEMIA ABOENSI,

OMNIUM FACULTATUM

PROFESSORES, CETERIQUE DOCENTES,

A DIE I. OCTOBRIS AN. MDCCXCIX. AD IDEM TEMPUS ANNI SEQUENTIS,

PUBLICE ET PRIVATIM HABEBUNT.

IMPERANTE AUGUSTISSIMO ET POTENTISSIMO,

GUSTAVO ADOLPHO,

SVECORUM, GOTHORUM, VANDALORUMQUE REGE &c. &c. &c.

DOMINO NOSTRO CLEMENTISSIMO.

REGIÆ ACADEMIÆ ABOENSIS

CANCELLARIO,

ILLUSTRISSIMO ATQUE EXCELLENTISSIMO COMITE,

DOMINO CAROLO ADAMO WACHTMEISTER,

EX IMPERII SVIOGOTHICI PROCERIBUS UNO,

SUPREMO AD AULAM REGINÆ VIDUÆ MARESCHALLO, EDUCATIONIS REGIÆ ANTEHAC GUBERNATORE VICARIO,

ORDINUM REGIORUM EQUITE AC COMMENDATORE.

PRO-CANCELLARIO,

REVERENDISSIMO DOMINO, JACOBO GADOLIN,

S S. THEOL. DOCTORE, DIOCESEOS ABOENSIS EPISCOPO, ORDINIS REGII DE STELLA POLARI COMMENDATORE.

PROFESSORES.

In Facultate Theologica:

Christianus Cavander, *S.S. Theol. Prof. Prim. et Archi-Præp.* in iis Capitibus, quæ ex Evangelio Lucæ adhuc supersunt, publice interpretandis, primum h.c. D. versabitur, in Auditorio Majori h. a. m. IX, deinde Johannis Evang. suscepturus. Privatim futuris Auditoribus, in primis S. Ministerii Candidatis, fidelia saltem consilia monitaque ad praxin muneris et vitæ spectantia suppeditare studebit.

Laurentius O. Lefren, *S.S. Theol. Professor Reg. et Ordin.* hoc anno Academico Esaiæ Prophetiam publice explicare constituit, idque h. III. post meridiem; privatas Scholas desideriis expetentium adcommodaturus.

Jacobus Tengström, *S. S. Theol. Prof. Reg. et Ord. nec non R. Acad. h. a. Rector.* Doctrinam morum e Christianæ Theologiæ fontibus haustam, præeunte Cel. *J. C. Döderlein,* publice legendo tradere et absolvere conabitur; Dogmaticam non minus quam Homileticam Religionis proponendæ rationem privatis lectionibus alternis persecuturus.

In Facultate Juridica:

Matthias Calonius, *Juris Prof. Reg. et Ord. Eques Ord. Reg. de Stella Polari, Supremi Reg. Tribunalis Revisorii p. t. Membrum,* Holmiæ munere clementissime sibi delato detentus adhuc versatur. Partes vero ejus, donec ad nos redierit, R. Acad. Secretarius interim administrabit.

In Facultate Medica:

ORDINARII:

GABRIEL ERICUS HAARTMAN, *M.D. Med. Pract. Prof. Reg. et Ord.* Commentaria in Pharmacopœiam Svecanam proxime præterlapso anno Academico incepta continuabit; docebit autem publice h. a. m. XI. in Auditorio Mathematico; privatamque operam ad desiderium Alumnorum Medicorum lubenter accommodabit.

GABRIEL BONSDORFF, *Phil. et Med. Doct., Anat. Chirurg. et Art. Veter. Prof. Reg. et Ord. Facult. Med. h. a. Decanus,* historiam Actionum corporis, quas Animales vocant, publicis lectionibus h. a. m. IX^{a} in Audit. Anatom. habendis, succincte tradet; Demonstrationibus et exercitiis anatomicis atque medico-legalibus privatis horis sedulo inserviturus.

EXTRAORDINARIUS:

JOSEPHUS G. PIPPING, *M. D. Med. Prof. Reg. et Extraord. atque Membrum Fac. Med. Ordinarium,* absoluta morborum Oculorum expositione, morbos ossium corporis humani pertractabit, idque publice in Auditorio Anatomico hora decima antemeridiana. Exercitationes autem privatas desideriis Artis Studiosorum salutaris accommodabit.

In Facultate Philosophica:

JOHANNES BILMARK, *Historiar. ac Philosoph. Pract. Professor Reg. et Ordin.* Jurisprudentiam Naturalem et Politicam Septemtrionalium Europæ Regnorum Notitiam publicis Lectionibus, in Auditorio Majori hora XI. a. m. Deo Volente, habendis, alternis vicibus explicabit; Privatam institutionem desiderio suorum Auditorum accommodaturus.

Andreas Planman, *Physices Prof. Reg. et Ord.* Elementa Mechanices, in Auditorio Superiori, hora II^da^ pomeridiana, publice proponet; privatim vero ea tradet, quæ Honoratissimi Commilitones desideraverint.

Henricus Gabriel Porthan, *Eloquentiæ Professor Reg. et Ord.* Orationes *Ciceronis* selectas et *Virgilium*, diebus alternis, in Auditorio Minori hora antemerid. X, publice interpretabitur. Privatam vero diligentiam exercitiis styli utriusque, more solito moderandis, aliisque muneris sui partibus, in quibus Auditores suam potissimum exposcere operam intellexerit, pro virili implendis, dicabit.

Olavus Schalberg, *Phil. Mag. nec non Metaphys. et Logices Profess. Reg. atque Ordin. Lectionibus publicis*, Psychologiam Empiricam, D.V., explicabit, *privatis* ea traditurus, quæ sui Auditores ipsi desideraverint. *Publice* leget hora a.m. octava.

Carolus Nicolaus Hellenius, *Œcon. Profess. Reg. et Ord.* absolutis iis, quæ ex *cultura olerum* proponenda restant, præcepta cultus *arborum frugiferarum* tradet, idque publice in Auditorio Mathematico hora X^ma^ antemeridiana. Privatim in omnibus, quæ ad se pertineant, Juventutis Academicæ commodis pro virili parte consulet.

Johannes Gadolin, *Chemiæ Prof. Reg. et Ord.* prælectionibus publicis hoc anno *Naturam Aquæ et Salium*, duce libro a se edito, explicabit, in Auditorio Mathematico hora p. m. III^tia^. Privatam operam ad desideria Auditorum lubens accommodabit.

Gustavus Gadolin, *Lingg. Orient. et Gr. Prof. Reg. et Ord. nec non Fac. Philos. h. a. Decanus*, publicis lectionibus hora a. m. IX. in Auditorio Mathematico

habendis *Iliados Homericæ* explicationem continuabit. Privatam operam literis Hebræis tradendis impendet, neque ceteroquin Honorat. Commilitonum desideriis defuturus.

Franciscus Michael Franzen, *Hist. Litter. Prof. et Reg. Acad. Bibliothecarius*, lectiones quas semestri vernali proxime præterlapso instituit, hoc anno Academico persecuturus, literarum humaniorum apud Romanos aliasque et antiquas et hodiernas Europæ Occidentalis et Borealis gentes Historiam publice in Audit. Mathematico hora a. m. VIII. pertractabit. Ceterum ut ad R. Acad. Bibliothecam Academicis aditus diebus Mercurii et Saturni horis p. m. II. & III. pateat, curabit, et privatim sedulam in iis, quæ suæ sunt interpretationis, partibus, operam studiosæ juventuti ministrabit.

Andreas Johannes Mether, *Mathem. Prof. Reg. et Ord.* Semestri autumnali utramque Trigonometriam, sequente autem anni hujus Academici intervallo Doctrinam Sectionum Conicarum prælectionibus publicis, in Auditorio Minori h. a. m. XI. habendis, explicabit. Lectiones privatas desiderio Honor. Commilitonum accommodabit.

ADJUNCTI.

In Facultate Theologica:

Jacobus Bonsdorff, *S. S. Theol. Licent. et Adjunct. Ordin.* in prælegendis, quæ restant ex Epitome Theol. Dogm. S. Vener. Mori, capitibus versabitur, cetera quoque et Hermeneutices et Pastoralis Doctrinæ momenta haud neglecturus.

In Facultate Medica:

Nicolaus Avelan, *Medic. Doct. Anat. Prosector et Facult. Med. Adjunct. Ord.*, Dissectionibus Anatomicis *publice* inserviet; *privatim*, quæ de Lectionibus Osteologicis, feriis Academicis interruptis, explicanda restant, persecuturus.

Botanices Demonstratoris munus vacat.

In Facultate Philosophica:

ORDINARII:

Henricus Alanus, *Reg. Acad. Secretarius*, cœptam proxime præterlapso semestri Tituli *Codicis Fridericiani* de *Jure Hæreditatis* interpretationem, per illud hujus Anni Academici spatium, quo Holmiæ adhuc commorabitur Ordinarius Juris Professor, publicis Lectionibus ejus loco continuabit, quam simulac absolverit, sequentem ejusdem Codicis Titulum pro ratione temporis adgredietur explicandum. Privatim Elementa tradet Jurisprudentiæ Civilis.

Johannes Sundwall, *Fac. Philos. Adj. Ord.* disciplinas morales Auditoribus suis explicare continuabit.

EXTRAORDINARIUS:

Michael Holmberg, *Professor, Adjunctus Chemiæ Extraordinarius*, Elementa Halurgiæ et Pharmaceutices experimentis instituendis Auditoribus demonstrabit.

MAGISTRI DOCENTES.

In Facultate Theologica:

Nicolaus Gustavus Brander, *S. Theologiæ Docens*, desideriis Honoratissimorum Dom. Commilitonum, omni, qua potest diligentia, operam suam accommodare conabitur.

Ericus Johannes Frosterus, *Joh. Fil., S. S. Theologiæ Docens*, in iis, quæ suarum sunt partium, præstandis, Honoratissimis Dominis Commilitonibus pro viribus inservire conabitur.

In Facultate Philosophica:

Johannes Bonsdorff, *Linguar. Sacrar. Docens et Amanuens. Consist. Acad.* operam suam desideriis Honoratissimorum Commilitonum lubens accommodabit.

Laurentius Wadell, *Philos. Pract. et Polit. Docens*, Philosophiam Moralem hoc anno tractabit, in exercitiis consuetis, si volupe fuerit, desideriis Honor. Dom. Commilitonum non defuturus.

Nicolaus Magnus Tolpo, *Metaphysices Docens*, in exhibenda et pro virili explicanda Terminologia Philosophiæ Criticæ, vel et in aliis quæ ad se pertinent, operam suam Honoratissimis Dom. Commilitonibus offert.

Gustavus Gabriel Hallström, *Physices Docens et Amanuensis Biblioth. Reg. Acad.*, Elementa Hydrostaticæ Auditoribus proponere constituit. Aliis quoque tradendis Scientiis Physicis, si id desideraverint Honoratissimi Commilitones, operam suam omni, qua potest, diligentia impendet.

Andreas Johannes Lagus, *Græc. Litt. Docens et R. Acad. Biblioth. Aman. Ord.* futuris suis Auditoribus *Anthologiam Græcam Brunckianam* explicare constituit.

Johannes Henricus Fattenborg, *Litt. Orient. Docens*, in Libro Psalmorum explicando desiderio Honorat. Commilitonum satisfacere conabitur.

Johannes Petrus Winge, *Œconomiæ Docens*, in tradendis, quæ ad suam spectant scientiam, usui ac desiderio Honoratissimorum Commilitonum lubenter satisfacere conabitur.

Magnus Alopæus, *Math. Docens*, Algebram tradet, de cetero desideriis Honorat. Dom. Commilitonum sese accommodaturus.

Joannes Wide, *Historiarum Docens*, ad desideria Honor. Commilitonum lubens respondere conabitur.

Michael Choræus, *Eloquentiæ Docens*, in Auctore quovis explicando, atque stylo formando, suam Honorat. Commiliton. operam offert.

Gabriel Palander, *Matheseos Adplicatæ Docens et Biblioth. Reg. Acad. Amanuensis*, Elementa Astronomiæ Sphæricæ, aut si quam aliam Honor. Domini Commilitones præoptaverint ex genere Mathematico disciplinam, tradere constituit.

ARTIUM CULTIORUM MAGISTRI.

Georgius Danet, *Linguæ Gallicæ Magister*, diebus Mercurii et Saturni hora indicanda Librum, cui Titulus: *Les Aventures de Telémaque*, publice interpretabitur; Studiosis privatam in Lingua Gallica institutionem desiderantibus haud defuturus.

Johannes Baptista Meijer, *Palæstræ Athleticæ Præfectus*, artem arma dextre tractandi et strenue vibrandi eos docebit, qui suam expetunt manuductionem.

Johannes Thorenberg, *Director Musices et Organ. ad Templum Cathedral. Aboënse*, Musicam publicis concentibus, diebus Mercurii et Saturni hora III. p. m. habendis docebit. Privatam quoque institutionem expetentibus, suam haud denegabit operam.

No. III.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE,

ACCORDING TO

DIURNAL OBSERVATION;

WITH

A CORRESPONDING STATEMENT OF TEMPERATURE IN ENGLAND

DURING THE SAME PERIOD:

THE LATTER BEING EXTRACTED FROM A REGISTER KEPT IN THE APARTMENTS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY IN LONDON, BY ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL.

N.B. *The Observations during the Journey were made at Noon, unless otherwise expressed, and in the most shaded situation that could be found: those of the Royal Society at Two* P.M.; *and both on the Scale of Fahrenheit.*

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
59	Copenhagen, 2 P.M.	June 13, 1799.	61
52	Copenhagen, 3 P.M.	June 14.	64
52	Elsineur,	June 15.	60
60	Karup, 1 P.M.	June 16.	59
65	Kongsbacka, 1 P.M.	June 17.	61
68	Gothenburg, 2 P.M.	June 18.	64
74	Edet, 2 P.M.	June 19.	67
61	Trollhætta, 2 P.M.	June 20.	62
72	Hunneberg, 2 P.M.	June 21.	65
68	Mälby, 2 P.M.	June 22.	71
69	Bodarne, 3 P.M.	June 23.	72
62	Fellingsbro, 2 P.M.	June 24.	67
62	Gran, 2 P.M.	June 25.	63
62	Stockholm, 2 P.M.	June 26.	59
64	Stockholm, 1 P.M.	June 27.	66

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
62	Rotebro, 1 P.M.	June 28, 1799.	67
64	Yfre, 1 P.M.	June 29.	67
64	Skog, 2 P.M.	June 30.	77
65	Bringsta, 2 P.M.	July 1.	72
68	Fjäl, 3 P.M.	July 2.	72
65	Spjute, 2 P.M.	July 3.	72
69	Lefvar, 2 P.M.	July 4.	73
72	Umeå, 2 P.M.	July 5.	74
75	Sunnanå, 2 P.M.	July 6.	77
73	Luleå, 2 P.M.	July 7.	74
75	Tore,	July 8.	77
75	Londtjerf, 1 P.M.	July 9.	65
72	Torneå, 2 P.M.	July 10.	70
70	Torneå, 2 P.M.	July 11.	70
68	Wajakala,	July 12.	73
62	Korpikyla,	July 13.	69
73	Njemis, 1 P.M.	July 14.	70
68	Maajosaari, 1 P.M.	July 15.	65
62	Pello, 1 P.M.	July 16.	57
68	Kolare, 1 P.M.	July 17.	69
71	Kolare, 3 P.M.	July 18.	68
70	Kiklargi, 2 P.M.	July 19.	63
73	Near Muonioniska, 2 P.M.	July 20.	68
69	Forest near Muonioniska, 4 P.M.	July 21.	66
70	Ofre Muonioniska, 2 P.M.	July 22.	68
76	Upon the Muonio, near Enontekis,	July 23.	71
71	Enontekis,	July 24.	63
59	Enontekis, 4 P.M.	July 25.	67
59	Enontekis, 4 P.M.	July 26.	67
48	Enontekis, from 11 A.M. to 2 P.M.	July 27.	65

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
46	Enontekis, 1 P.M.	July 28, 1799.	62
47	Enontekis, 2 P.M.	July 29.	65
54	Enontekis, 1 P.M.	July 30.	67
59	Enontekis, 1 P.M.	July 31.	70
54	Palojoensu, 1 P.M.	Aug. 1.	72
59	Muotkajerfvi, 3 P.M.	Aug. 2.	68
59	Between Hetta and Kuru, 2 P.M.	Aug. 3.	69
60	Between Kuru and Tepasto,	Aug. 4.	71
62	Between Tepasto and Kittila,	Aug. 5.	68
61	Between Kittila & Ilijaskö, 2 P.M.	Aug. 6.	60
64	Aliåjaskö, 5 P.M.	Aug. 7.	64
67	Pirtåkoski, 1 P.M.	Aug. 8.	58
60	Rautiola, 5 P.M.	Aug. 9.	59
64	Tervola, 1 P.M.	Aug. 10.	69
67	Kiemi,	Aug. 11.	70
67	Torneå, 1 P.M.	Aug. 12.	68
68	Torneå, 2 P.M.	Aug. 13.	70
70	Torneå, 1 P.M.	Aug. 14.	70
68	Torneå, 1 P.M.	Aug. 15.	66
67	Rautiola, 1 P.M.	Aug. 16.	67
68	Ijo,	Aug. 17.	60
62	Uleå,	Aug. 18.	65
62	Uleå, 1 P.M.	Aug. 19.	66
62	Karingango, 2 P.M.	Aug. 20.	68
60	Brahestad, 1 P.M.	Aug. 21.	67
62	Brahestad, 1 P.M.	Aug. 22.	64
68	Heusala,	Aug. 23.	68
61	Gamla Carleby, 1 P.M.	Aug. 24.	67
62	Åravais	Aug. 25.	66
59	Wasa, 1 P.M.	Aug. 26.	65
59	Wasa, 1 P.M.	Aug. 27.	65

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
62	Wasa, 1 P.M.	Aug. 28,1799.	68
59	Iskmo, 3 P.M.	Aug. 29.	67
58	Isle of Björkö, 3 P.M.	Aug. 30.	63
62	Isle of Björkö, 1 P.M.	Aug. 31.	64
56	Quarken	Sept. 1.	63
61	Umeå, 1 P.M.	Sept. 2.	66
54	Umeå, 1 P.M.	Sept. 3.	66
59	Roeback, 2 P.M.	Sept. 4.	68
60	Onske,	Sept. 5.	71
58	Spjute, 1 P.M.	Sept. 6.	66
60	Angermanna Ferry, 1 P.M.	Sept. 7.	63
66	Forest near Fjäl,	Sept. 8.	63
58	Sundswall,	Sept. 9.	69
58	Maj, 1 P.M.	Sept. 10.	64
64	Afholm,	Sept. 11.	62
56	Grafven,	Sept. 12.	64
55	Kalsätt,	Sept. 13.	62
57	Glissebergen,	Sept. 14.	61
57	Wiken,	Sept. 15.	61
51	Alps between Längos and Tännäs,	Sept. 16.	61
51	Funnesdalen,	Sept. 17.	62
46	Alps above Funnesdalen,	Sept. 18.	65
45	Alps near the *Norwegian* Frontier,	Sept. 19.	62
41	Tamnas,	Sept. 20.	59
46	Rörååås,	Sept. 21.	62
44	Rörååås, 1 P.M.	Sept. 22.	65
48	Forest near Rörååås, 1 P.M.	Sept. 23.	57
49	Forest between Gaare and Churchwall,	Sept. 24.	61
47	Malhuus,	Sept. 25.	64
47	Trönÿem,	Sept. 26.	62

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
51	Trönÿem,	Sept. 27, 1799.	59
51	Trönÿem,	Sept. 28.	51
45	Trönÿem,	Sept. 29.	50
46	Trönÿem,	Sept. 30.	57
38	Trönÿem,	Oct. 1.	55
37	Trönÿem,	Oct. 2.	57
34	Trönÿem,	Oct. 3.	60
45	Sognæs,	Oct. 4.	54
51	Stuca,	Oct. 5.	56
41	Drivstuen,	Oct. 6.	60
27	Duovre Fjäl,	Oct. 7.	63
37	Viig,	Oct. 8.	59
39	Place omitted,	Oct. 9.	55
47	Moshuus,	Oct. 10.	55
46	Svennes,	Oct. 11.	58
49	Glassworks near Bandelie,	Oct. 12.	59
53	Dragsvold,	Oct. 13.	57
49	Christiania,	Oct. 14.	54
40	Christiania,	Oct. 24.	49
41	Christiania,	Oct. 25.	50
39	Christiania,	Oct. 26.	49
42	Christiania,	Oct. 27.	44
48	Christiania,	Oct. 28.	52
41	Romsaas,	Oct. 29.	53
48	Kiölstad,	Oct. 30.	55
43	Edsbroen,	Oct. 31.	57
47	Leerhol, Sweden,	Nov. 1.	58
47	Carlstad,	Nov. 2.	55
51	Molkem,	Nov. 3.	57
48	Philipstad, 1 P.M.	Nov. 4.	54
39	Onshytta,	Nov. 5.	48
39	Hjulsiö,	Nov. 6.	55
44	Ostanbo,	Nov. 7.	49

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
—	Place omitted,	Nov. 8, 1799.	46
38	Fahlun, 2 P.M.	Nov. 9.	44
38	Hornas,	Nov. 10.	49
34	Grådö	Nov. 11.	48
36	Broddebo, 2 P.M,	Nov. 12.	57
42	Between Långtora and Safva, 2 P.M.	Nov. 13.	54
—	Upsala, not estimated,	Nov. 14.	51
44	Upsala,	Nov. 15.	50
44	Rotebro,	Nov. 16.	46
44	Stockholm,	Nov. 17.	44
40	Stockholm,	Nov. 18.	47
39	Stockholm,	Nov. 19.	48
38	Stockholm,	Nov. 20.	47
39	Stockholm,	Nov. 21.	41
38	Stockholm,	Nov. 22.	45
40	Stockholm,	Nov. 23.	43
42	Stockholm,	Nov. 24.	40
42	Stockholm,	Nov. 25.	46
44	Stockholm,	Nov. 26.	46
38	Stockholm,	Nov. 27.	47
37	Stockholm,	Nov. 28.	44
40	Stockholm,	Nov. 29.	40
40	Stockholm,	Nov. 30.	49
38	Stockholm,	Dec. 1.	50
28	Stockholm,	Dec. 2.	45
34	Stockholm,	Dec. 3.	48
34	Stockholm,	Dec. 4.	42
32	Stockholm,	Dec. 5.	43
32	Stockholm,	Dec. 6.	45
32	Stockholm,	Dec. 7.	41
30	Stockholm,	Dec. 8.	40
28	Stockholm,	Dec. 9.	44

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
28	Stockholm,	Dec. 10,1799.	43
28	Stockholm,	Dec. 11.	42
30	Stockholm,	Dec. 12.	40
Scale of Celsius.			
1	Stockholm,	Dec. 13.	35
2	Ensta,	Dec. 14.	36
8	Staba,	Dec. 15.	34
3	Grissehamn,	Dec. 16.	35
3	Grissehamn,	Dec. 17.	33
10	Grissehamn,	Dec. 18.	35
10	Grissehamn,	Dec. 19.	27
4	Ekerö,	Dec. 20.	26
10	Frebbenby,	Dec. 21.	31
4	Skårpans, 1 P.M.	Dec. 22.	33
3½	Vardö,	Dec. 23.	31
3	Kumlinge,	Dec. 24.	33
2	Kumlinge,	Dec. 25.	34
14	Kumlinge,	Dec. 26.	36
18	Kumlinge,	Dec. 27.	32
8	Kumlinge,	Dec. 28.	26
11	Kumlinge,	Dec. 29.	32
6	Kumlinge,	Dec. 30.	31
11	Kumlinge,	Dec. 31.	23
6	Bjorkö,	Jan. 1, 1800.	25
24	Vinkela, 4 P.M.	Jan. 2.	38
23	Tursanpare,	Jan. 3.	47
20	Åbo,	Jan. 4.	47
21	Åbo,	Jan. 5.	45
25	Åbo,	Jan. 6.	41
20	Åbo,	Jan. 7.	41
20	Åbo,	Jan. 8.	41
20	Åbo,	Jan. 9.	43
18	Åbo,	Jan. 10.	40

Observation on the Scale of Celsius.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
16	Åbo,	Jan. 11, 1800.	42
16½	Åbo,	Jan. 12.	43
11½	Åbo,	Jan. 13.	45
8½	Åbo,	Jan. 14.	44
10½	Åbo,	Jan. 14.	43
11½	Near Åbo,	Jan. 16.	39
9¾	Sapla,	Jan. 17.	39
0	Bjorsby,	Jan. 18.	45
—	Omitted,	Jan. 19.	45
—	Omitted,	Jan. 20.	35
+1½	Sibbo,	Jan. 21.	34
3	Parno, 1 P.M.	Jan. 22.	37
3½	Frontier of Russia near Pyltis,	Jan. 23.	39
13	Fredericksham, 1 P.M.	Jan. 24.	40
—	Omitted,	Jan. 25.	44
2	Wibourg,	Jan. 26.	51
0	Petersburg,	Jan. 27.	45
+2	Petersburg,	Jan. 28.	46
+2½	Petersburg,	Jan. 29.	44
+5½	Petersburg,	Jan. 30.	42
+5	Petersburg,	Jan. 31.	41
+½	Petersburg,	Feb. 1.	46
+2½	Petersburg,	Feb. 2.	44
+3¼	Petersburg,	Feb. 3.	47
+2¾	Petersburg,	Feb. 4.	45
+2¼	Petersburg,	Feb. 5.	38
−2	Petersburg,	Feb. 6.	35
+3	Petersburg,	Feb. 7.	36
−3	Petersburg, 1 P.M.	Feb. 8.	34
−7	Petersburg,	Feb. 9.	36
−16	Petersburg,	Feb. 10.	36
−7	Petersburg,	Feb. 11.	36
−9½	Petersburg,	Feb. 12.	32

Observation on the Scale of Celsius.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
$-10\frac{1}{4}$	Petersburg,	Feb. 13.	32
$-6\frac{1}{2}$	Petersburg,	Feb. 14.	32
$-4\frac{1}{2}$	Petersburg,	Feb. 15.	35
−12	Petersburg,	Feb. 16.	41
−11	Petersburg,	Feb. 17.	40
−13	Petersburg,	Feb. 18.	41
−5	Petersburg,	Feb. 19.	40
$-4\frac{1}{2}$	Petersburg,	Feb. 20.	44
$-1\frac{1}{2}$	Petersburg,	Feb. 21.	51
−1	Petersburg,	Feb. 22.	53
−15	Petersburg,	Feb. 23.	49
−26	Petersburg,	Feb. 24.	38
−24	Petersburg,	Feb. 25.	40
−26	Petersburg,	Feb. 26.	33
−15	Petersburg,	Feb. 27.	32
10	Petersburg,	Feb. 28.	34
−11	Petersburg,	Mar. 1.	38
−10	Petersburg,	Mar. 2.	41
−13	Petersburg,	Mar. 3.	40
−14	Petersburg,	Mar. 4.	39
$-10\frac{1}{2}$	Petersburg,	Mar. 5.	35
$-12\frac{1}{2}$	Petersburg,	Mar. 6.	32
−7	Petersburg,	Mar. 7.	32
+3	Petersburg,	Mar. 8.	35
+2	Petersburg,	Mar. 9.	36
+2	Petersburg,	Mar. 10.	38
+2	Petersburg,	Mar. 11.	53
+1	Petersburg,	Mar. 12.	42
$+2\frac{1}{2}$	Petersburg,	Mar. 13.	40
+2	Petersburg,	Mar. 14.	42
+2	Petersburg,	Mar. 15.	46
−15	Petersburg,	Mar. 16.	47
−15	Petersburg,	Mar. 17.	39

Observation on the Scale of Celsius.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
−5	Petersburg,	Mar. 18.	39
−6	Petersburg,	Mar. 19.	41
−15	Petersburg,	Mar. 20.	45
−15	Petersburg,	Mar. 21.	49
−15	Petersburg,	Mar. 22.	46
−8	Petersburg,	Mar. 23.	51
−5	Petersburg,	Mar. 24.	53
+2	Petersburg,	Mar. 25.	52
−10	Petersburg,	Mar. 26.	54
−14	Petersburg,	Mar. 27.	55
−12	Petersburg,	Mar. 28.	49
$-5\frac{1}{2}$	Petersburg,	Mar. 29.	52
+1	Petersburg,	Mar. 30.	57
+4	Petersburg,	Mar. 31.	50
$-1\frac{1}{2}$	Petersburg,	April 1.	53
0	Petersburg,	April 2.	49

No. IV.

NAMES OF PLACES

VISITED IN THE AUTHOR'S ROUTE,

WITH

THEIR DISTANCES FROM EACH OTHER.

N.B. *This List commences upon the Author's landing in* Sweden.—*The whole of the Journey and Voyage from* Cambridge *to* Hamburgh (*amounting in Distance to about Five Hundred Miles*); *and from* Hamburgh, *through* Denmark, *to* Copenhagen (*Sixty-four* German *Miles*); *and to* Helsingborg; *has been omitted.*—*The Orthography here given, is corrected from the* Vagvisare *printed at* Stockholm *in* 1776.

Helsingborg *to* Stockholm, *by the* Wener Lake.

	Swed. Miles.	Eng. Miles.
Helsingborg, to		
Engelholm	2⅜	16⅝
Margaretstorp	1	7
Karup	1	7
Laholm	1¼	8¾
Halmstad	2	14
Quiböle	1¼	8¾
Backegård	1¼	8¾
Falkenberg	1¾	12¼
Morup	1⅛	7⅞
Warberg	1⅝	11⅜
Baha	2	14
Kongsbacka	2½	17½
Kjärra	1¾	12¼
Gothenburg	0¾	5¼
Steken	1	7
Lahall	1⅛	7⅞
Katteberg	1¼	8¾
Edet	1⅝	12¼
Forss	1	7
Grednem	1	7
(*Trollhætta*)		
Wenersbourg	1½	10½
Halby	1½	10½
Ferry	1	7
Cross the Ferry, to Sjoryd	0¼	1¾
Täng	1½	10½

	Swed. Miles.	Eng. Miles.
Malby	2	14
Lidköping	1	7
Kålängen	1¼	8¾
Enebacka	1¼	8¾
Björsätter	1½	10½
Mariæstad	1¼	8¾
Hasselrör	0¾	5¼
Hofva	2¼	15¾
Bodarne	2¼	15¾
Wretstorp	2	14
Blackstad	2	14
Mosas	1	7
Örebro	1	7
Glandshammer	1½	10½
Fällingsbro	1¾	12¼
Arboga	1¼	8¾
Köping	1¾	12¼
Kalback	1½	10½
Westeräs	2	14
Nygvarn	2⅛	14⅞
Enköping	1	7
Lislena	1	7
Gran	1¾	12¼
Tible	2	14
Barkarby	1½	10½
Stockholm	1½	10½
Total	74⅝	522⅜

Stockholm *to* Torneå.

	Swed. Miles.	Eng. Miles.
Stockholm, to		
Rotebro	2	14
Märstad	1¾	12¼
Alsike	1¾	12¼
Upsala	1½	10½
Högsta	1¼	8¾
Laby	1¼	8¾
Yfre	2	14
Mehede	2⅛	14⅞
Elfcarleby	1½	10½
Gefle	2½	17½
Tröje	1¾	12¼
Hamrånge	1¾	12¼
Skog	2⅞	20⅛
Soderahla	2⅛	14⅞
Norrahla	1	7
Bro	2¼	15¾
Iggsund	1½	10½
Sanna	1⅜	9⅝
Välsta	0¾	5¼
Bringsta	1¾	12¼
Böhle	1½	10½
Mai	2	14
Sundsvall	2¼	15¾
Fjäl	1	7
Norrmark	2	14
Åland	1	7
To the Ferry	1¾	12¼
Ferry	0¼	1¾
Fantskog	1½	10½
Assja	1½	10½
Dogsta	1	7
Spjute	1⅝	11⅜
Hörnäs	1⅜	9⅝

	Swed. Miles.	Eng. Miles.
Brösta	1⅛	7⅞
Tafre	1⅛	7⅞
Onske	1½	10½
Afva	2	14
Lefva	1½	10½
Angersjö	1⅝	11⅜
Sörmjöle	1⅝	11⅜
Röbäck	2	14
Ferry to Umeå	0⅛	0⅞
Tafle	1⅝	11⅜
Säfvar	1⅜	9⅝
Djekneboda	1⅞	13⅛
Rikleå	1¾	12¼
Gudboda	1¾	12¼
Grimsmark	1¼	8¾
Sele	1¼	8¾
Daglösten	1⅝	11⅜
Bureå	1½	10½
Innerick	1¼	8¾
Sunnanå	1	7
Frastkageå	1⅝	11⅜
Byskeå	1¼	8¾
Abyn	1⅜	9⅝
Jäfre	2	14
Chinbäck, to Pitholm Ferry	1¾	12¼
Ferry	0⅛	0⅞
Piteå	0½	3½
Ojebyn	0¾	5¼
Pälsnäs	1¼	8¾
Rösvik	1	7
Ersnäs	1¼	8¾
Gjäddvik	1½	10½
Ferry	0⅛	0⅞
Luleå	0½	3½
Person	1¾	12¼
Råne	1¾	12¼
Vitån	1½	10½
Tore	1¾	12¼
Mänsbyn	2⅛	14⅞
Grötnäs	1	7
Landtjerf	1⅛	7⅞
Sangis	1⅛	7⅞
Seivis	1⅛	7⅞
Nickala	1¾	12¼
Torneå	1¼	8¾
Total	113⅝	795⅞

TORNEÅ, *to* ENONTEKIS *at the Source of the* MUONIO *River.*

	Swed. Miles.	Eng. Miles.
TORNEÅ, by the Torneå River, to		
Wojakala	1	7
Kuckula	1½	10½
Korpikÿla	1½	10½
Hjetaniemi	1½	10½
Njemis	1	7
Ofre Torneå	1½	10½
Marjosari	1¼	8¾
Jouxange / Svansten	2½	17½
Pello	2	14
Jarlionnen	2	14
Kirkeden	0½	3½
Kieksis	3¼	22¾
Kolare	3	21
Huukis	1¼	8¾
Kihlangi	3	21
Parkajoansuu	3	21
Muonioniska	4	28
Visit to Nomade Laplanders	2	14
Upper Muonioniska	1	7
Katkessuando	2	14
Palojoansuu	3	21
Kuttanen	2	14
Kaaresuando	2	14
ENONTEKIS	1	7
Total	46¾	327¼

ENONTEKIS *to* TORNEÅ.

	Swed. Miles.	Eng. Miles.
ENONTEKIS, by water, to		
Kaaresuando	1	7
Kuttanen	2	14
Palojoansuu	2	14
Muotkajerf	1½	10½
Aunisjerf	1½	10½
Kuru	6	42
Tepasto	4	28
Kittila	6	42
Ylijasco	6	42
Alajasco	5	35
Pahta-koski	3	21
Pirti-koski	2	14
Nikkila	1½	10½
Korkila, in the parish of Ravaniemi	1½	10½
Rautio	1½	10½
Koifva Kÿlå	1	7
Ruika	1	7
Yatila	0½	3½
Koifvå Kÿla, Parish House, Kilpala	1½	10½
Tervola	1	7
Alaparkyla	1½	10½
Kiemi	1½	10½
By land to Kÿlajocki	1½	10½
TORNEÅ	1	7
Total	55	385

FINLAND.—TORNEÅ *to* WASA.

	Swed. Miles.	Eng. Miles.
TORNEÅ, to		
Kÿlajocki	1	7
Kiemi	1½	10½
Rautiola	1	7
Maxaniemi	1⅞	13⅛
Simo	1¾	12¼
Kjanfraniemi	1⅛	7⅞
Alafva	1¾	12¼
Ijo	2	14
Haukebodas	1½	10½
Jükuri	1⅛	7⅞
Uleåborg	1⅝	11⅜
Kämbälä	1½	10½
Limmigå	1½	10½
Lumijocki	1⅛	7⅞
Karingango	1⅛	7⅞
Sikajocki	1⅛	7⅞
Oljocki	1½	10½
Brahestad	1	7
Jufvola	0½	3½
Hannila	0⅞	6⅛
Luoto	1½	10½
Karialuoto	1	7
Iufvala	1⅛	7⅞
Heusala	1⅛	7⅞
Roukala	1¼	8¾
Hihnala	1½	10½
Juntila	1¼	8¾
Peitza	1½	10½
Willick	1⅛	7⅞
Gamla Carleby	1	7
Stora	1½	10½
Abbors	0⅞	6⅛
Kårknäs	0⅞	6⅛
Sundby	1⅛	7⅞
Nya Carleby	1¼	8¾
Munselä	1¼	8¾
Åravais	1¾	12¼
Koujocki	1¼	8¾
Murka	0⅞	6⅛
Sattila	0⅞	6⅛
Weikas	1¼	8¾
WASA	0⅞	6⅛
Total	52⅝	368⅜

WASA, *across the* GULPH *of* BOTHNIÅ, *by the Passage of the* QUARKEN *to* UMEÅ.

	Swed. Miles.	Eng. Miles.
WASA, to		
Iskmo	2	14
Isle of Bjorkö	3	21
UMEÅ	10	70
Total	15	105

UMEÅ *to* SUNDSWALL.

	Swed. Miles.	Eng. Miles.
UMEÅ, to Röbäck, including the Ferry	0½	3½
Sörmjöle	2	14
Angersjö	1⅝	11⅜
Lefvar	1⅝	11⅜
Afva	1½	10½
Onske	2	14
Tafre	1½	10½
Brösta	1⅛	7⅞
Hörnäs	1⅛	7⅞
Spjute	1⅜	9⅝
Dogsta	1⅝	11⅜
Assja	1	7
Fantskog	1½	10½
Angermanna Ferry	1½	10½
Åland	1¾	12¼
Norrmark	1	7
Fjäl	2	14
Webstа	1	7
SUNDSWALL	1¼	8¾
Total	27	189

SUNDSWALL, *through* HELSINGLAND *and* HERJEÄDALEN, *and over the Alpine Frontier, to* RÖRÅÅS, *and* TRÖNYEM, *in* NORWAY.

	Swed. Miles.	Eng. Miles.
SUNDSWALL, to Mai	2¼	15¾
Gnarp	2	14
Bergsiö	1¾	12¼
Afholm	3¼	22¾
Delsbo	1¼	8¾
Norvanna	0½	3½
Ljusdal	2½	17½
Grafven	1½	10½
Kårböle	4	28
Kålsätt	3½	24½
Nilsvallen	2	14
Glåsseberg	2¼	15¾
Ransiö	1½	10½
Wiken	2¾	19¼
Hede	1	7
Långösby	1½	10½
Tännäs	3½	24½
Funnesdalen	1½	10½
Malmagen	2	14
Bräkken, in *Norway*	2	14
Rörääs	3	21
Hoff	2	21
Magornu	1½	10½
Gaare	0½	3½
Churchwall	2½	17½
Bogen	1½	10½
Sognæs	1½	10½
Foss	1	7
Leir	1	7
Melhuus	0¾	5¼
Oust	1	7
TRÖNYEM	1¼	8¾
Total	61	427

TRÖNŸEM *to* CHRISTIANIA.

N.B. The NORWEGIAN Miles are here made equivalent to the SWEDISH Miles, being much greater than the DANISH; although perhaps not quite equal each to Seven Miles ENGLISH.

	Norway Miles.	Eng. Miles.
TRÖNŸEM, to		
Oust	1¼	8¾
Melhuus	0¾	0¼
Leir	1	7
Foss	1	7
Sognæs	1	7
Hoff	2	14
Birkager	1	7
Sundset	1	7
Stuen	1¼	8¾
Ofnet	1¼	8¾
Rüsen	1	7
Drivstuen	1	7
Kongswold	2	14
Jerkin	1½	10½
Fogstuen	2	14
Tofte	1½	10½
Olstad	1¼	8¾
Formoe	1½	10½
Breiden	1¼	8¾
Viig	1¾	12¼
Moen	1	7
Oden	1	7
Elstad	1½	10½
Lösnes	1	7
Stav	1½	10½
Moshuus	1¼	8¾
Jorstad	1½	10½
Rone	1½	10½
Svennis	1½	10½
Svee	1	7
Hanne	1	7
Brelie	0¾	5¼
Lunden	0¾	5¼
Grönna	1¼	8¾
Garsjoe	1¾	12¼
Bandelie	1	7
Roholt	2	14
Drægsvold	2	14
Moe	1	7
Schesmoe	1	7
Romsâås	1½	10½
CHRISTIANIA	1	7
Total	54	378

Christiania *to* Stockholm.

	Danish Miles.
Christiania, to	
Romsåås	1
Schesmoe	1½
Moe	1
Holen	1
Kiölstad	1½
Hæberg	1
Ous	1½
Sindby	1
Kongswinger	1½
Edsbroen	1¼
Magnor (Enter the Swedish territory)	1¾
	14

	Swed. Miles.	Eng. Miles.
Magnor to Morast	1	7
Haga	1	7
Strand	1	7
Hogvalla	1¾	12¼
Leerhol	1½	10½
Skamnäs	1	7
Hogboda	0¾	5¼
Prestbol	1½	10½
Ilberg	1	7
Carlstad	1¾	12¼
Brästegård	1¼	8¾
Molkem	1¾	12¼
Brättefors	2	14
Philipstad	1¼	8¾
Onshytta	0¾	5¼
Saxån	1	7
Nytorp	2⅛	14¾
Hjulsiö	1½	10½
Laxbro	2	14
Hogforss	1½	10½
Hellsion	1½	10½
Ostanbo	1	7
Smedbacka	1½	10½
Bommarsbo	1½	10½
Russ-gården	1	7
Naglarby	1¼	8¾
Fahlun	2¼	15¾
Naglarby	2¼	15¾
Säter	1¾	12¼
Grådö	2	14
Avestad	1½	10½
Broddebo	2¾	19¼
Sala	1¼	8¾
To the Mine, and return	0½	3½
Tårnaby	1¼	8¾
Gastre	1¾	12¼
Långtora	1¼	8¾
Safva	1½	10½
Upsala	1¾	12¼
Alsike	1½	10½
Marsta	1¼	12¼
Rotebro	1¾	12¼
Stockholm	2	14
Total	63⅜	477

From STOCKHOLM *to* ÅBO.

STOCKHOLM, to	Swed. Miles.	Eng. Miles.
Eustad	1¾	12¼
Osby	2	14
Hall	1	7
Rilanda	1¼	8¾
Kragstu	1	7
Svanberg	1	7
Staby	1¼	8¾
Tresta	1½	10½
Grissehamn	0¾	5¼
By water to Ekerö	7	49
By land to Frebbenby	1¼	8¾
Enkerby	1¼	8¾
Haroldsby	1¼	8¾
Skårpans	1¼	8¾
Vardö	1½	10½
By water to Kumlinge	3	21
Over ice to Bjorkö	1¼	8¾
Brandö, by land	1¼	8¾
Over ice to Varssala	2½	17½
Over ice and land to Helsing	2	14
By land to Himois	1⅝	11¼
Vinkela	0¾	5¼
Laitis	0½	3½
Tursanpåre	1½	10½
Nussis-Nummis	1½	10½
Åbo	1⅝	11¼
Total	42½	297½

From ÅBO *to the* FRONTIER OF RUSSIA.

ÅBO, to	Swed. Miles.	Eng. Miles.
Peike	1½	10½
Vistū	1¼	
Handela	1¾	
Sahla	1	7
Haila	2	14
Savankby	1¾	12¼
Bjorsby	2	14
Miolbaltstad	2	14
Kockis	1¾	12¼
Bollsta	1¼	8¾
Quis	2	14
Bembole	1¾	12¼
Helsingfors	2	14
Haxbole	1¾	12¼
Sibbo	1½	10½
Wakkaski	1¼	8¾
Borgo	1¼	8¾
Illby	1	7
Forsby	1¼	8¾
Parno	1	7
Louisa	1¼	8¾
Tesjo	1	7
Abersfors	0½	3½
Total	33¾	236¼

From ABERFORS *to* PETERSBURG.

	Russian Versts.	Eng. Miles.
ABERFORS, to		
Kymene	22½	15
Frederickshamm	22½	15
Kouxis	16	10¾
Puterlace	18	12
Ursala	16	10¾
Villiouxis	23	15¼
Tevrouxis	17	11¼
Wibourg	20	13
Konuta	22	14½
Suenoÿa	22	14½
Pampola	18	12
Lindolla	20	13
Bulostrof	18	12
Drasnicof	15	10
Petersburg	25	16½
Total	293	195½

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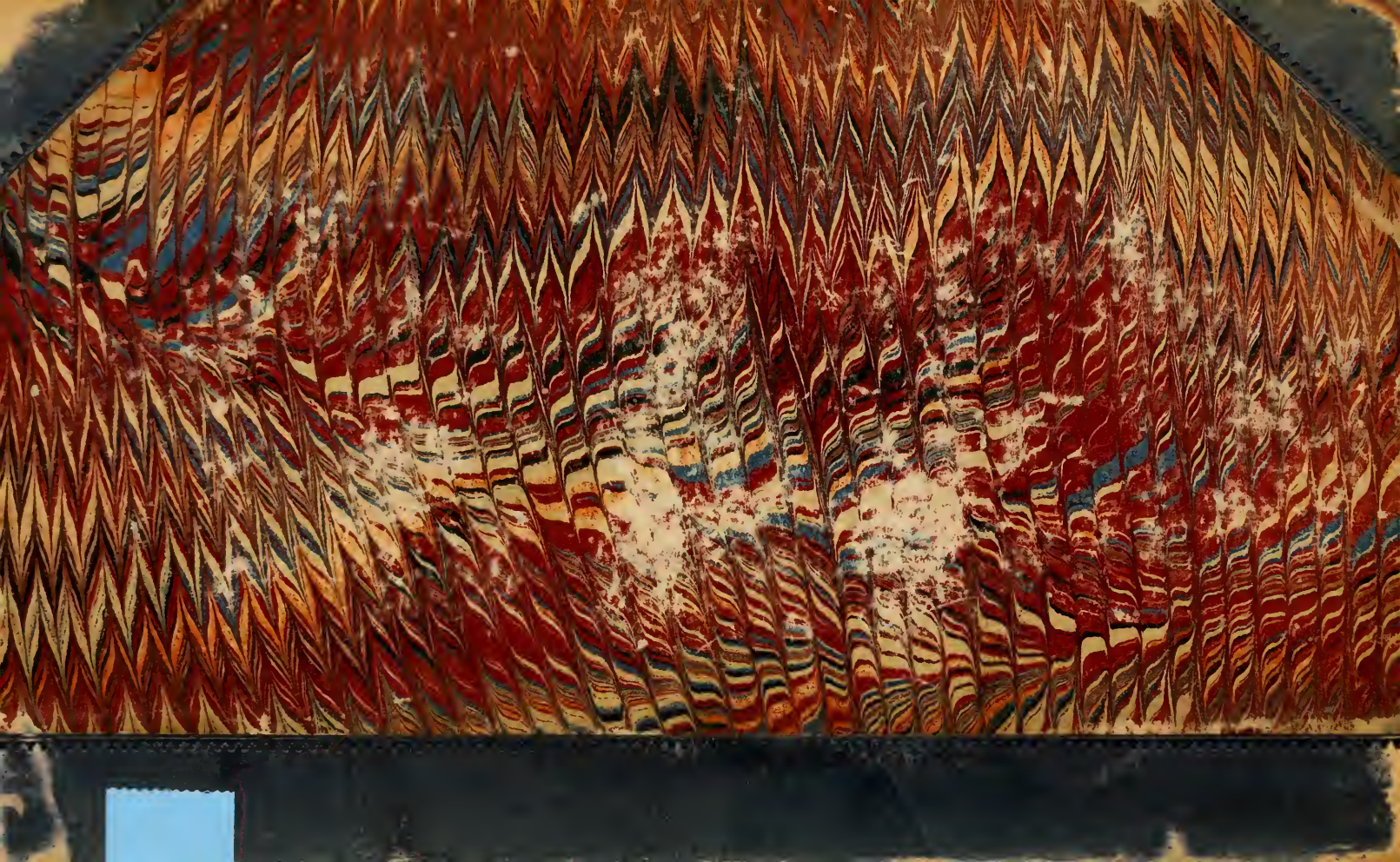
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